II (about 883–859) managed to reduce parts of Phoenicia to tributary status and at the same time to establish the reputation of the Assyrian armies for merciless brutality.

The Assyrian menace provoked a reaction in the form of a defensive coalition in the region headed by the Israelites and Arameans. The royal Assyrian chronicle recounts that King Ahab of Israel contributed 2,000 chariots and 10,000 foot soldiers to the coalition; but, in spite of this magnificence, its forces were defeated at the battle of Karkar, near Hamath (about 853). It does not appear that the Assyrians were able to exploit the victory at once; but within ten years they were collecting tribute from states as far west as Israel and Phoenicia. From then until the Medes and a resurgent Babylonia brought her to heel some two and a half centuries later, Assyria held all of western Asia in her sway. The history of Judah and Israel must be read against this background.

The Northern Kingdom of Israel

From the breakup of Solomon's kingdom no single major group ever managed to dominate Israel for more than a generation or two at a time. Chronic plotting for the succession repeatedly brought kings and would-be kings to bloody ends, until after years of civil war a military chieftain named Omri finally gained the upper hand (about 878) and established what the Assyrian royal chronicles called the "House of Omri" (I Kings 15:9 ff.; 16:1–23).

The Omride Dynasty

It was under Omri that the northern kingdom acquired, for the first time, a permanent and impressive capital. Abandoning Tirzah, which had served as a kind of capital for

about forty years, Omri built a new political center, which he named Samaria. From the excavations at this site, a good picture is gained of the magnificent palace and fortifications which he and his son Ahab erected there. And recent excavation has assigned to their period the mammoth stables erected at Megiddo; they housed many of the horses harnessed to Ahab's 2,000 chariots employed at Karkar.

The house of Omri brought prosperity to the northern kingdom. Aram for the time being ceased to threaten, Moab in Transjordan was under control, and economic relations with Phoenicia developed rapidly. This prosperity, however, was restricted almost exclusively to Israel's upper class. Those who worked with their hands in the towns and on the land shared little enough in this new wealth. The petty farmer frequently lost his crops and his land to the big landowner. The apprentices and artisans found the economic and social gap widening between themselves and their masters. The merchant class became richer and more influential than before. Freemen were becoming slaves, and the poor were being compelled to sell their children into bondage. Where members of the lower classes were able to obtain loans from the rich, it was usually at exorbitant rates of interest. Nor was the economic and social structure helped by the periodic droughts which came upon the land, such as the drought and famine recorded in the days of Ahab.

Ahab, Naboth, and Elijah

During this period occurred that event recorded in I Kings 21 and celebrated in the annals of justice and literature. Naboth, a commoner, owned a vineyard next to Ahab's palace. The king, determined to acquire the land, made sev-

eral offers; but Naboth, a man of strong ancestral sentiment, would not sell the property he had inherited from his fathers. Thereupon Jezebel, Ahab's Phoenician wife, bribed two men to accuse Naboth falsely of blasphemy and treason. Naboth and his heirs were stoned to death, and the vineyard fell to the king.

The injustice of the royal couple was bluntly denounced by the prophet Elijah. "Have you murdered, and you will take possession too?" And he went on to curse the king, saying, "So said the Lord, 'In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, the dogs shall lick your own blood' " (I Kings 21:19).

In denouncing the attempt of the monarchy to nullify the property and other rights of the old order, Elijah was acting in the same tradition as the prophet Nathan in the previous century, who fearlessly condemned David for causing the death of Uriah, the husband of Bath-sheba (II Samuel 11–12).

The Dynasty of Jehu

A revolt against the son of Ahab (about 842) brought Jehu to the throne. The new monarch initiated a sweeping purge of the Omride household and its chief supporters. He killed Jezebel and all of Ahab's heirs and "all who remained of the house of Ahab in Jezreel" (II Kings 10:11).

When King Hazael of Aram threatened Israel, Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser of Assyria to keep the Syrian ruler in check. This event has become famous because Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk, discovered in his palace in 1846, records and illustrates the transaction. The bas-relief clearly pictures the Israelite delegation, headed by a prostrate figure

—either Jehu or his personal deputy—bringing the tribute to "the mighty monarch."

Later, when the Assyrians developed troubles of their own at home, their domination of Israel was replaced by that of the Arameans, under Hazael and his son Ben-hadad. But Aram, in its turn, was rent and weakened by civil war, thus giving the kingdom of Israel the opportunity to embark once again on an expanded period of expansion and prosperity.

The long reign of Jeroboam II witnessed the spectacular, if temporary, reconquest of a considerable part of the area originally controlled by David and Solomon. The territory across the Jordan which had been lost to Aram was recovered. The Bible records that Jeroboam "restored the boundary of Israel from the entrance of Hamath as far as the Sea of the Arabah" (II Kings 14:25). None of Assyria, Aram, or Judah was in a position to interfere with Israel's limited objectives, and the Phoenicians profited with Israel through their long-established policy of co-operation. Excavations of such cities as Samaria and Megiddo have uncovered striking evidence of Israel's increased wealth during this period. It seemed that northern Israel was again well on the way to prosperity and peace.

Amos and Hosea

Once more, however, royal arrogance and privilege provoked a ringing challenge. As Nathan had confronted David, as Elijah had rebuked Ahab and Jezebel, now Amos spoke out, even at the temple of Bethel in Israel. From his position as a herdsman of Tekoa in Judah, Amos saw in the life of his people a gloomy picture within the gilded frame of royal riches. As fast as the upper classes were acquiring

wealth, the poorer groups were sinking into a disastrous economic decline. He realized that in such social quicksand Israel could not endure.

In tirades which have never been equaled in their majestic force or terrible beauty, Amos denounced King Jeroboam II. Like Elijah and Elisha before him, like Deborah, Samuel, and Nathan before them, Amos saw in his God the complete sovereign not only of His own chosen land and people but of the peoples and lands which surrounded Israel as well. The king and his supporters, Amos warned, had broken the Covenant with God: "They sold the righteous for money, and the needy for the price of a pair of sandals." In the name of God, Amos portrayed with thunderous phrase the mortal peril of a society in which the powerful "trample the head of the poor into the dust of the earth, and turn aside the way of the humble . . . so that they have profaned My holy name" (Amos 2:6–7).

The same dire warning was hurled at Israel by the prophet Hosea, an Israelite contemporary of Amos. Knowing intimately all phases of her life, Hosea dwelt upon Israel's faithless desertion of the Lord for the gods of the Phoenicians and the idols of the heathen. Her leaders and priests, even her prophets, he charged, shared in the common acts of sin and sacrilege. Thus to depend on fortified cities, on impotent idols, and on Assyrian might, he warned Israel, was to invite disaster and exile. Only if Israel turned back to God, could the catastrophe be averted:

> Samaria shall bear her guilt,
> Because she had rebelled against her God.
> They shall fall by the sword,
> Their infants shall be dashed in pieces,
> And their pregnant women ripped open.

Return, O Israel, to the Lord your God,
For you have stumbled in your iniquity
[Hosea 14:1–2; 13:16 f. in English versions].

The warnings of Amos and Hosea were fulfilled. The dynasty of Jehu, like that of Omri, came to a catastrophic end about 750.

The Fall of Israel

By this time, in truth, it made very little difference who ruled Israel, for Assyria once again had begun its massive westward thrust in the greatest phase of its imperialist expansion. Tiglath-pileser III conquered all of western Asia and carried off to distant lands large segments of the conquered populations.

Menahem, the reigning King of Israel, prevented the total devastation of the country only by paying heavy tribute, which he raised with a crushing levy on the people.

The new Israelite administration, however, not being content to remain a mere vassal of Assyria, withheld tribute on several occasions and began negotiations for a coalition with Egypt. Thus flouted, the Assyrians decided to put a stop, once and for all, to the spirit of resistance and intrigue which still smoldered in Israel. The Assyrian army under Shalmaneser V marched into Israel and for three years besieged the capital Samaria. Not until Shalmaneser was succeeded by his commander-in-chief, Sargon II, did the Assyrians smash through the crumbling defenses and put the city to fire and sword. Thus the sovereignty of the northern kindom of Israel came to a final end (about 722).

Sargon always took great pride in his capture of Samaria. He records in his Annals that he led away as booty 27,290 of its inhabitants. The resulting depletion of Israel by forced exile had its counterpart in the resettlement throughout the

land of Canaan of Babylonians, Elamites, Arameans, and others drawn from other conquered territories. This deportation has given rise to a double misconception: first, that there were ten tribes in northern Israel at the time of its destruction, and secondly, that these ten tribes were "lost," only to reappear elsewhere in the world. Time and again, peoples the world over have claimed descent from these "Ten Lost Tribes."

There were not, in fact, ten distinct tribes in Israel at the time of Sargon the Assyrian; and the exiles were lost only in the sense that they were absorbed wherever they were transplanted. Probably only a few of the descendants of the Israelite exiles remained true to the God and land of Israel and managed, nearly a century and a half later, to join with the exiles of Judah.

The foreigners who were thus introduced into Israel also tended to lose their cultural identity in a general amalgamation. It was this resettlement, with its inevitable effect on religious and social customs, which set the stage for the rise of the anti-Judean group among the Samaritans that resisted the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple later on when the Persians had come to power.

The Southern Kingdom of Judah

The history of Judah generally paralleled that of Israel, with the one qualification that Judah tended to be weak when Israel was strong. The area from Dan to Beersheba, with its limited natural resources and economic advantages, did not seem able to support two prosperous kingdoms at once. Agriculture, commerce, the handicrafts, and the tribute of weaker nations formed the major sources of income of both countries. Further, the intervention of neighboring powers—whether Assyria, the Aramean states, Phoenicia,

Egypt, or the Transjordan countries—tended to keep the two divided and unequal. Only occasionally did circumstances combine to allow an effective and equal alliance between Israel and Judah.

In spite of its inherent weakness, however, Judah lasted longer. Consisting of only two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, both of which remained loyal to the line and tradition of David, it was more compact and capable of greater coherence and agility. Nor did it lie directly across the path of conquerors.

During most of the long reigns of Asa and his son Jehoshaphat (about 912–850), Judah and the dynasty of David continued to prosper. Asa's administration stabilized the position of the land. Asa checked the Egyptian army under Zerah the Ethiopian at Mareshah (II Chronicles 14:8–14) and bribed Ben-hadad of Aram to attack Baasha of Israel, to force the king to raise his siege of northern Judah.

Asa also carried out a program of religious reform. Early in his career he abolished male prostitution and various forms of idolatry, alien elements which had no rightful place alongside the worship of the Lord. In all of this he had the vigorous encouragement of the prophet Azariah.

Faced by the growing menace of the Arameans and Assyrians, Jehoshaphat then concluded a pact with Israel, and his son Joram (or Jehoram) was married to Athaliah, daughter (or sister) of Ahab. But not all the Judeans favored the alliance of the government with that of Ahab. Indeed, on one occasion when Jehoshaphat returned from an ill-starred joint military venture with Israel against Ramoth-gilead in Transjordan, then in Aramean hands, Jehu, son of Hanani the seer denounced him: "Should you help the wicked, and love those who hate the Lord?" (I Kings 22; II Chronicles 18; 19:2).

The Judean government levied tribute on the Philistines and Arabs, garrisoned the fortified cities of the land, and defeated a coalition of Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites. For a time Judah held sway over the southern part of Transjordan all the way to Ezion-geber. Jehoshaphat rebuilt the harbor there and in a joint venture with Ahab's older son Ahaziah launched a new merchant fleet. The prophet Eliezer protested vehemently against this act of co-operation with Israel (II Chronicles 20:25–27; I Kings 22:48–49). In any case, the ships were wrecked, and the project was not repeated. But in another joint venture with Israel, that of collecting tribute from the Moabites, Jehoshaphat was somewhat more successful.

Judicial Reforms

An important development in this period was the reorganization of the Judean judicial system. The authority of the "elders" and the "heads of the tribes" had been on the wane ever since the days of the United Kingdom. The Bible reports that David and Solomon themselves acted as judges (II Samuel 15:2–6; I Kings 3:9–12) and appointed judges who, like the district governors, were responsible directly to them. Even the priests and Levites who administered the religious law and formed a kind of civil service were personally responsible to the king.

Probably because the civil administration of justice had become corrupt (II Chronicles 19:6–7) Jehoshaphat cleaned out the old system and appointed Levites, priests, and prominent laymen to administer both the religious and civil law. The Bible says of this reform:

> And, behold, Amariah the chief priest shall be over you in all [religious] matters of the Lord, and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the leader of the house of Judah, shall be over you in all

the king's [civil] matters; and the officers of the Levites shall be before you. Deal courageously, and may the Lord be with the good! [II Chronicles 19:11].

In all likelihood, the religious and civil spheres of the law were frequently too closely intertwined to be administered separately by religious and lay officials. In any case, it would appear that the judicial reforms of Jehoshaphat made it easier for the high priest to replace the king as the chief judge of the land after the return from the Babylonian Exile.

Conflict and Respite

During the reign of Jehoshaphat's son, Joram (or Jehoram), and the brief reigns of his successors, Judah's position deteriorated steadily, allowing the Edomites to revolt and achieve a measure of independence. During this period Philistine and Arabian marauders even invaded the royal palace and made off with its treasures, the royal wives, and all the princes but one.

Ahaziah, the lone survivor, reigned but one year; and following his death, his mother Athaliah proceeded to murder all but one of her grandsons and usurp the throne. Thus a full-blooded Phoenician woman, Jezebel, was the power behind the throne of Ahab in Israel, and her half-Phoenician daughter was on the throne in Judah. Six years later, Athaliah was killed and Joash (or Jehoash), the single grandson who had escaped her murderous net, assumed the kingship about 836. Under Joash and his son Amaziah, Judah's troubles continued.

Finally, during the long reign of his grandson Uzziah (II Kings 14; II Chronicles 25) and the latter's son and coregent Jotham (about 775–735), Judah reached the peak

of its power and prosperity. Free of any threat of interference by Israel, Uzziah was able to effect impressive improvements in his people's position both at home and abroad. The army was enlarged, reorganized, and supplied with the latest weapons and engines of siege. Key sites were fortified. Recalcitrant Philistine cities were reduced to subjection. The peoples of Transjordan were conquered and laid under tribute. In the Negeb, all the way to Ezion-geber and even beyond into Arabia, agriculture, commerce, and building flourished as never before (II Chronicles 26).

With the accession of Tiglath-pileser III to the throne of Assyria, Judah felt the need of a defensive coalition with Israel, Aram, and other nations against the revived Mesopotamian menace. Yet it was with the greatest difficulty that the little kingdom, now ruled by Jotham's son Ahaz, retained some semblance of her former independence. On one occasion Ahaz purchased Tiglath-pileser's assistance in driving off the allied armies of Aram and Israel (about 735); and just over a decade later Ahaz had to repeat this act of submission, during Israel's fatal revolt against Assyria.

Judah's tribute to Assyria must have been considerable, yet on the surface her prosperity appeared to continue. This impression may have been due, in part at least, to the fact that her surrounding rivals had likewise been weakened by Assyria.

Under Hezekiah and Manasseh: Micah

After Israel's fall, Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, tried to form a coalition with Judah and organize western Asia to defy Assyria. Isaiah came forth and warned Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, that Judah would be trapped in the middle of a bitter struggle. The prophet thundered:

Hear the word of the Lord. Behold, the days are coming when all that is in your house, and that which your fathers treasured up until this day, will be carried off to Babylon. . . . And some of your sons who are born to you shall be taken captive, and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon [II Kings 20:16–18; Isaiah 39:6–7].

Isaiah was joined by another prophet, Micah, native of Moresheth, near Philistine Gath in the Shefelah. In the spirit of Hosea before him, who had described Israel as "mixing herself among the nations . . . like a silly dove, without understanding" (Hosea 7:8–11), Micah had already excoriated Israel for her reliance on the power of foreign allies instead of on the strength of the Lord. Now in His name he warned the people again:

I will make of Samaria heaps in the field,
A place for planting vineyards,
And I will pour down her stones into the valley,
And her foundations I will uncover [Micah 1:6].

Moreover, he continued, Israel's doom would extend to Judah, for Judah was guilty of the same sins:

The godly man has perished from the land,
And the upright among men is no more.
They all lie in wait for blood,
And each stalks his brother with a net [Micah 7:2]

Judah's leaders, her prophets, her judges, her priests, and her rich men were all misleading her. Trusting only in burnt offerings and empty sacrifices, they ignored Micah's classic injunction:

Only to do justice
and to love loyally
and to walk humbly with your God [6:8].

The ominous warnings of Isaiah and Micah went unheeded. Shortly after 715, Assyria invaded the rebellious states and crushed them. Another major invasion took place about 701. The Assyrian forces under Sennacherib subjugated most of western Asia, and the enemy threatened Jerusalem itself. Interestingly, the Biblical account of this event (II Kings 18–19; Isaiah 36–38) is supplemented by the Assyrian chronicle. Together they paint a vivid picture of the campaign. Sennacherib, in his chronicle, boasts:

As for Hezekiah the Judean, he did not submit to my yoke, I laid siege to 46 of his strong cities, walled forts, and to the countless small villages in their vicinity, and conquered them. . . . I drove out of them 200,150 people. . . . [Hezekiah] himself I made a prisoner in Jerusalem, his royal residence, like a bird in a cage.[1]

The Assyrian army, however, did not take Jerusalem. A plague, achieving what the Judeans could not, laid the invaders low and spared the city. As the story is told by the Biblical chronicler:

That night the angel of the Lord went forth and struck 185,000 in the camp of Assyria. And when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. And Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh [II Kings 19:35–36].

During the reign of Hezekiah, several religious reforms were effected (II Chronicles 29–30). The Temple and its paraphernalia were purified, the priestly and Levitic orders were reorganized, idolatrous objects and sites throughout the land were destroyed, and the celebration of the passover, long neglected by many, was once more generally

[1] After A. Leo Oppenheim, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950), p. 288.

revived. But the long reign of Hezekiah's son, Manasseh, traditionally fifty-five years and the longest in the history of Judah or Israel, was remembered by the Biblical writer for "the evil that he did in the eyes of the Lord" (II Kings 21:2). He reintroduced the idolatrous objects and shrines which his father had removed, and "shed . . . much innocent blood, until he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another." But it must be borne in mind that during this period Judah was a vassal of the Assyrians (about 680–635).

Josiah and the Reformation: Jeremiah

King Josiah, Manasseh's grandson, possibly with the full knowledge of Assyria, began to act with a remarkable show of independence; he seems even to have entertained hopes of taking over Israel, now an Assyrian colony. The Judean government was able to reorganize and enlarge the army, as well as to nurture other bold designs, because Assyria was being challenged by powerful peoples round about her in Mesopotamia.

About 621, while catastrophe was brewing for Assyria and, unbeknown to anyone, for Judah as well, Josiah effected the sweeping religious reforms subsequently known as the Reformation of Josiah. Unlike so many of his predecessors, Josiah was not content merely to cleanse the Temple of idolatrous objects and rites and to reorganize its services and priesthood. Rounding up the priests who had abetted alien practices, Josiah had them slain, and at the same time he abolished all shrines except the Temple in Jerusalem. He incorporated the dislodged priests in the purged guild at Jerusalem (II Kings 22–23).

The religious occasion for this reform was the accidental discovery, during a rebuilding of the Temple, of the Book

of the Law (or Covenant). This document, found by the high priest Hilkiah, had evidently been pigeonholed and forgotten during some earlier "wicked" regime. Hilkiah's scroll is now generally supposed to have contained a basic part of the book of Deuteronomy.

It was in fact at about this time that the Book of Deuteronomy seems to have taken on the form we know today. The method employed by the editor apparently was to take the older traditions, the bare bones of the Mosaic experience, the themes of national covenant and chosen people, and amplify them in terms of the prophetic tradition. The purpose was to drive home the idea that all Israel was a community bound and locked to a God who would reward those who obeyed Him and punish those who did not.

Jeremiah the prophet had supported and encouraged Josiah's reformation. But the reforms do not appear to have affected the Judean population deeply nor to have lasted long. Jeremiah found it necessary to dissociate himself from the project and to lament its deterioration.

In the last years of Josiah's reign, the Assyrian empire began to crumble; by 612 the Babylonians, Medes, and Scythians had destroyed it forever and leveled its capital, the fabled Nineveh, in the dust. This shattering event was taken by the prophet Nahum as his theme to demonstrate the retributive justice of the God of Israel. Beginning with the traditional avowal:

> The Lord is a jealous and avenging God,
> The Lord avenges and is full of wrath;
> The Lord takes vengeance on His adversaries,
> And He reserves wrath for His enemies. . . .

he ends his Oracle concerning Nineveh with a somber, almost elegiac, triumph:

Your shepherds are asleep, O king of Assyria,
Your nobles slumber;
Your people are scattered on the mountains,
And there is none to gather them. . . .

Near Eastern Ferment and the Fall of Judah

Assyria's fall only paved the way for new and greater disasters. The Egyptians, reviving under Necho, rushed into the vacuum left by the Assyians and made an effort to gain control of western Asia. Fearful of this threat, Josiah moved north into the valley of Jezreel to intercept the Egyptian advance. He took his stand at strategic Megiddo (609), but his Judean forces were overwhelmed and Josiah himself was killed (II Kings 23:29).

His son Jehoahaz II (Shallum) succeeded to the throne; but three months later Necho dragged him off in chains to the Nile and replaced him with Jehoiakim (Eliakim), another of Josiah's sons. In the meantime, however, Babylonia, the most rapidly growing power in Mesopotamia, inflicted a crushing defeat on Necho's forces at Carchemish (605) and succeeded the Assyrians as overlords of western Asia.

For a time, Jehoiakim vacillated, now looking hopefully to Babylonia, now to his Egyptian sponsors. Judah did not yet realize that Egypt would never recover from the catastrophe at Carchemish and would itself become but a dependency of other powers. Forgotten was the ancient warning: "Behold, you are putting your trust on the staff of this bruised reed, on Egypt, upon which if anyone lean, it will go into the hand and pierce it. So is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to all who put their trust in him" (II Kings 18:21; Isaiah 36:6).

This indecision was rudely resolved when Babylonia,

under the energetic leadership of the ascendant Chaldean minority headed by Nebuchadnezzar, dispatched an army that swiftly subdued all of Judah. Even then, however, Nebuchadnezzar had no sooner turned his back than Jehoiakim revolted in a desperate gamble on aid from Egypt. But even as Jeremiah had warned, this aid never came. The Chaldean conqueror replied by sending a punitive force back into Judah, and the enemy captured Jerusalem, though only after strenuous resistance.

About three months before this Babylonian expedition actually breached the city, Jehoiakim was slain, apparently the victim of a palace plot. It was his young son Jehoiachin (Jeconiah), successor on the throne, who caught the full weight of the Babylonian vengeance. He and all the royal household, together with a portion of the upper class and a great levy of craftsmen, were marched off as captives to Babylon. As puppet ruler, the conqueror left on the throne Mattaniah, a son of Josiah, and changed his name to Zedekiah (II Kings 24:17; I Chronicles 3:15).

After some ten years of Babylonian rule, Judah revolted a second time, again refusing to heed Jeremiah's dismal warnings to rely on the Lord and not on the force of arms. This time Babylonia struck back with even greater fury, not merely to bring the rebellious province to the dust, but to dispel any dreams of like resurgence on the part of Egypt.

The Babylonians systematically took and razed all the fortified cities of Judah. Archaeological excavation has confirmed the thoroughness of this destruction. Jerusalem, the capital, held out for almost two years, but fierce hunger and the Babylonian siege engines finally broke through the defenses and forced capitulation (586). The conquerors leveled the Temple to the ground. "They captured

the king, and brought him up to the king of Babylonia to Riblah [near Kadesh], and judgment was passed on him. They slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him in fetters, and took him to Babylon" (II Kings 25:6–7). There followed renewed deportations of the people from their land. The sovereign state of Judah was no more.

Now the Babylonians reduced Judah to the status of an outright colony, similar to that endured by Israel since the days of the Assyrian rule. A native Judean, Gedaliah by name, was appointed governor of the despoiled and depopulated land and established headquarters at Mizpah. Gedaliah's administration seems to have been mild, for many Judeans who had fled into the hills, or into Egypt or Transjordan, returned from their places of refuge. But a certain Ishmael, a member of the Judean royal house, was desirous of restoring the monarchy and, abetted by the Ammonites, conspired to throw off Babylon's yoke. His well-meaning but utterly irresponsible accomplices murdered Gedaliah, together with the Judeans and Babylonians who made up his retinue, and embarked upon a reign of terror in the land. Once again the revenge of Babylon was swift and terrible. In 582 her troops instituted the third and final phase of Judah's depopulation and destruction (II Kings 25; Jeremiah 41–42).

Finally peace was achieved. Judah lay quiet, all the swirl and clash of centuries apparently come to naught. The period of the Great Babylonian Exile descended upon the people of Judah, God's people. But the Law remained, and all that it stood for and implied.

CHAPTER VI

The Babylonian Exile and the Restoration of Judah

THE Babylonian Exile was a supreme test of Israel's vitality. The Judeans were the only people in ancient times known to have been taken wholesale into captivity and still to have retained their religious and social identity. The Exile proved that Israel—the spiritual community—could adapt itself to, and develop under, the most adverse conditions. In fact, the very adversity seems to have bred leaders whose religious experience climaxed the prophetic tradition. Many Judeans lost faith in God. According to the Covenant He was their infallible protector; but in the contest with the Babylonian gods, He obviously had been worsted. There were others, however, who believed, also on covenantal grounds, that the Lord had visited destruction on Judah as a punishment for its wickedness; and it was this idea which was championed by the prophetic movement.

The Exile, in addition, marked the beginning of a slow transition of Judaism to a form which was destined to evolve during the period of the Second Commonwealth

and set the pattern for Jewish life during the Diaspora, or great dispersion, which took place after the Romans destroyed Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

Devastation in Judah

The land of Judah, itself, lay for a time inert, physically reduced, its remnants of population bereft of direction and spirit. Recent excavations at such sites as Lachish, Beth-shemesh, and Tell Beit Mirsim (perhaps Kiriat-sepher) bear eloquent testimony to the devastation wreaked on the rebellious kingdom of Judah by the forces of Chaldea. In 1935 a number of *ostraca*—potsherds used as writing material—were dug up at Lachish. Most of these appear to have been military dispatches written about 587 B.C. and record a determined struggle on the part of the Judean garrisons against the more powerful Babylonian enemy. The writer of Ostracon VI expressed deep concern about rumors of defeatism among the ruling class in Jerusalem: "And behold the words of the (princes) are not good, but to weaken our hands." Significantly, these relics were found buried deep in ashes.

Many towns in Judah were so thoroughly leveled by the Babylonians that they never were restored. The Temple, and the central religious organization too, was totally destroyed. The normal leaders of the community—the well to do, the well educated, even the artisans—were either carried off to Babylon or fled to Transjordan and Egypt. Indeed, when Gedaliah was murdered, Jeremiah urged his fellow Judeans to remain in the land; but a group took Jeremiah forcibly with them into Egypt (Jeremiah 41–43).

As the Judean social order thus fell apart, the teachings of Moses and the sermons of the prophets were ignored and

gradually forgotten. Those few remaining members of society who might have provided a nucleus of the religious and cultural stability and continuity could accomplish almost nothing in the chaotic conditions which prevailed. Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, and others from the neighboring regions—some of whom had previously been settled by Assyria in the territory of the northern kingdom—encroached more and more on the territory of Judah. Inevitably this infiltration led to intermarriage with these alien peoples and then indirectly to their gradually increasing influence upon the religious practices and daily life of the Israelites. Thus with the general tendency toward social and intellectual deterioration, assimilation and syncretism went on apace. Finally Judah, much reduced in territory, came under the control of a governor who resided in Samaria.

The Babylonian Captivity

In Babylonia, the exiled Jews found themselves in the midst of a flourishing and impressive civilization. The Chaldean regime of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562)—currently the greatest power in western Asia—had embarked on a tremendous building campaign for the glorification of the king, his capital, and his empire. Among the new structures were the terraces of Babylon, the so-called Hanging Gardens which the Greeks made famous as one of the seven wonders of the world. In actual fact, these masonary terraces were eclipsed by the Ishtar Gate and by the temple of Marduk built in stepped tiers like the towers of a modern skyscraper. To carry out these projects, artisans of all kinds were imported, both as captives and as highly paid skilled workers, as recorded in the Biblical statement: "And Nebu-

chadnezzar carried away . . . all the craftsmen and smiths" (II Kings 24:14).

The Judean exiles were treated no differently from the other captive peoples. The common folk were generally enslaved outright, and those of higher status were given limited freedom to earn a living and choose their abode. A number of the exiled Judeans even managed to live in their own homes in a special quarter of the city of Babylon.

Especially interesting is the manner in which the Biblical and the Babylonian texts confirm and clarify one another in their statements about the Babylonian treatment of King Jehoiachin and his household. The Biblical historian tells us:

> And in the thirty-seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin king of Judah . . . Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, lifted up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah from prison. And he spoke kindly to him, and gave him a seat above the seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon. And Jehoiachin put off his prison garments, and he ate regularly in the king's presence all the days of his life. And for his allowance, a regular allowance was given him by the king, every day a portion, all the days of his life [II Kings 25:27–30].

Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin received some three hundred cuneiform tablets which had been excavated by a German expedition near the Ishtar Gate in Babylon. These tablets lay for over three decades in the basement of the museum, uncleaned and undeciphered. Under the very thorough Nazi regime, the curator of the museum came upon the boxes of tablets and began to study them. He was astounded to discover that several of the tablets dealt

precisely with the same King Jehoiachin of Judah and his family in exile in Babylon, and that these texts not only substantiated but even filled in gaps in the Biblical account. It is unusual for archaeological discoveries to confirm a Biblical account so specifically.

Practically all the Judean exiles, except those who had been enslaved and brutalized by exhausting manual labor, longed for home. As time passed, however, and no immediate prospect of release developed, many were caught up in the colorful life of the Babylonian metropolis. These practical folk, recognizing that life went on in any case, made up their minds to "sing low in a bad tune" and to learn to adjust to Babylonian ways and customs according to the advice of Jeremiah:

> Thus says the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, to all the exiles whom I have exiled from Jerusalem to Babylon: Build yourselves houses, and dwell in them, and plant gardens, and eat their fruit. Take yourselves wives and have sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; and multiply there and be not diminished. And seek the welfare of the city to which I have exiled you, and pray to the Lord for it; for in its welfare shall you have welfare [29:4 ff].

It should be noted in passing that Jeremiah did not give the Babylonians any credit for having overpowered Judah. The Lord, having condemned Judah, delivered her people to Babylon to serve out their sentence of exile. Thus, according to Jeremiah, the only thing to do was to endure the captivity and build up a record for good behavior.

By about the middle of the sixth century, after some three or four decades, two generations of Judeans had grown up in exile. Those born to families that had sought assimilation

had quite lost touch with Judah. For them the memory of Temple and Covenant had faded, and Jerusalem seemed remote and unimportant compared with mighty and cosmopolitan Babylon. Content to earn a living in peace, these people had no desire to return to the land of their fathers and grandfathers.

A minority of the exiles, however, did remain faithful. Consisting largely of priests, Levites, men of learning, landowners, functionaries of the royal administration, and the like, this group maintained the will to resist assimilation. They struggled to keep track of political developments in the world about them and to keep alive the dream of restoring the Temple and the nation of Judah. For them captivity was bitter frustration, and deliverance and return held the one great promise of life, a hope which they implanted and nursed in their children with religious fervor.

The voices of the prophets ceaselessly and tirelessly admonished the expatriates always to remember their origin, their faith, and their mission. These faithful few did not intermarry, or at least not in sufficient numbers to dilute their consciousness of kind. They studied the teachings of Moses and the prophets, and found in them not only the explanation of Judah's defeat and exile, but also a program for salvation and redemption.

The Prophet Ezekiel

Among the Biblical writings which gave expression to this belief, the foremost were the books of Ezekiel and the so-called Second Isaiah. Ezekiel, the first prophet to receive the divine call outside the Holy Land, was visited by God Himself in a vision in Babylonia, and commanded to preach

that Judah and the Temple had been overcome not by the might of Babylon, but by the wickedness of Judah which had provoked God's wrath.

Carrying on the great tradition of Jeremiah, Ezekiel contended that the God of Israel was still omnipotent and that Babylon was His mere instrument. Her pomp and might, her lion-guarded ways, her many gods who were "no-gods," all these trappings and appurtenances of power would vanish like mist, once God's anger had run its course. Ezekiel would tolerate no momentary doubt of the inflexible justice of his God, nor would he accept the possibility that God would allow the innocent among the exiled to languish forever and without hope in the same durance with the wicked. With the same fiery faith Ezekiel preached that this punishment that made the bad good, made the good better, and assured, at least ultimately, deliverance for all who obeyed the Lord, observed His Sabbath, and kept themselves from heathen idols and heathen ways.

Ezekiel propounded his basic convictions in the vision of the Valley of Dry Bones (Ezekiel 37), one of the most electrifying passages of the entire Bible. Israel—in this vision—had ceased to be a living nation. Her people had lost faith in God and in themselves. To dramatize their plight, Ezekiel likened them to scattered heaps of bleached bone, lying in a valley. But the Lord, who had brought this terrible curse on His people, promised to bring the dead bones to life, and to restore a unified Israel to its own land under a descendant of King David, saying:

> And I will make a covenant of peace with them, and it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will establish them and multiply them, and will set My sanctuary in their midst for

ever. . . . And the nations shall know that I the Lord sanctify Israel, when My sanctuary is in their midst for ever" [verses 26–28].

Ezekiel, the first to prophesy after the destruction of Jerusalem, was obsessed by the need to rebuild the Temple. As the abode of the Divine Presence, it was the center of Israelite religious life, the true setting for sacrifice and prayer, for in antiquity no less than nowadays organized religion required a special place for the worship of the Deity. It was natural, therefore, that Ezekiel should also stress the preservation of a strict observance of the Temple ritual. In absolute accord with such exilic and postexilic prophets as the Second Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, not to mention his pre-exilic predecessors, Ezekiel warned that ritual laxity led to moral laxity. He and the other prophets of this later era were by no means men of coarser fiber; on the contrary, all of them believed—as firmly as their predecessors—that the efficacy of prayer and sacrifice depended on the worshipper's religious integrity. Their insistence on sacred forms and symbols stemmed not from a willingness to substitute such external tokens for the deeper religious truths but—on the contrary—from their experience that it is infinitely difficult for ordinary men to maintain active religious belief by faith alone.

The Second Isaiah: Babylonian Decline

Ezekiel had never faltered in his convictions of deliverance even during the worst hours of the Exile, but he did not live to see his faith vindicated. Only a few decades after Ezekiel's career came to a close, however, the Babylonian empire began to show great cracks and fissures and,

in shorter time than anyone would have believed possible, was on the brink of dissolution. The Persians and Medes had begun to take their place as major powers in the Mesopotamian region late in the seventh century. First the Medes helped the Babylonians crush Assyria and shared in the spoils. Then, about 545, Persia under Cyrus II (the Great) of the Achemenid dynasty absorbed Media, Lydia, and Ionian Greece in Asia Minor. Eventually the new power was to include territories extending all the way from the Indus to the Mediterranean and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean, a dominion beside which the conquests of earlier Near Eastern empires pale into insignificance.

During this turbulent period, a great prophet arose to proclaim to his fellow Jews in Babylon that they were entering a new epoch. He is called nowadays the "Second" Isaiah, to distinguish him from the namesake who prophesied in Jerusalem some two hundred years earlier; the writings of this exilic prophet are found in Chapters 40–66 of the Book of Isaiah. They are easily differentiated from those of the First Isaiah by virtue of literary style, historical perspective, and theological emphasis.

Having followed political developments closely, the Second Isaiah realized that even greater events were in the making, and in the swift rise of Persia he sensed the promise of imminent deliverance for Israel. In poetic sermons rarely equaled for pathos and lyricism, he compared the Babylonian Exile with Israel's bondage in Egypt and urged his conviction that even the Exodus would be surpassed by the new liberation and return, a triumph that would be consecrated in a new covenant between God and His people Israel. The one necessary condition, the unknown prophet of the Exile warned, was that the Judean exiles have

complete faith in the ability and desire of the Lord to accomplish the restoration.

More than any other prophet since the days of Elijah, the Second Isaiah emphasized and reiterated the uniqueness and omnipotence of the God of Israel. He set himself the task of convincing his fellow Jews that the Babylonians and their gods were not victors over the Judeans and the Lord their God, but that, on the contrary, the heathen were no more than the rod of His anger and chastisement. God was the one ruler in the entire universe, and there was no one else beside Him:

> I am the Lord, that is My name,
> And My glory I will not give to another
> Nor My praise to graven images [42:8].

This concept of a universal and omnipotent God was new, of course, only in emphasis. It stemmed in direct line from the teachings of Elijah and Amos, and had been eloquently expressed by the otherwise unknown "man of God" who said to King Ahab of Israel (ninth century):

> Thus says the Lord: Because the Arameans have said, "The Lord is a God of the mountains, but He is not a God of the valleys," therefore I will deliver all this great multitude into your hand, and you shall know that I am the Lord [I Kings 20:28].

But as Ezekiel stressed the role of the lost Temple in the worship of the Lord and made its rebuilding a central object of faith, so the Second Isaiah emphasized the universal aspect of God, in his efforts to explain to his fellow Judeans their exile in the foreign land of a great empire which had destroyed the Temple of their God and carried them captive from His land.

The Second Isaiah, realizing that Babylonia was a mere shell of its former greatness, and that Persia was now the dominant power in the Near East, warned his listeners that they had little time to prepare themselves for the destruction of Babylon by God's "shepherd" and "anointed," Cyrus of Persia (Isaiah 44:28; 45:1), and for their liberation and return to Judah.

Cyrus of Persia and the Edict of Liberation

About 540 B.C. Babylonia fell like a ripe fruit into the hands of Persia's king. In his first regnal year (about 538) Cyrus issued the famous Edict of Liberation:

> Thus says Cyrus king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth has the Lord, the God of heaven, given me; and He has charged me to build Him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all His people—his God be with him—let him go up to Jerusalem" [Ezra 1:2–3; II Chronicles 36:22–23].

And he added:

> Concerning the house of God at Jerusalem, let the house be built, the place where they offer sacrifices, and let its foundation be strongly laid. Its height shall be sixty cubits, and its width sixty cubits, with three rows of great stones and a row of new timber; and let the expenses be paid out of the king's house. And also let the gold and silver vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the Temple which is in Jerusalem and brought to Babylon, be restored and brought back to the Temple which is in Jerusalem, every one to its place. And you shall put them in the house of God [Ezra 6:3–5].

Sheshbazzar, apparently of the family of King Jehoiachin of Judah, was appointed governor of Judah. Taking with

him the sacred vessels of the Temple, Sheshbazzar went to Jerusalem to take up his post and prepared to lay the foundations for the new Temple.

Developments in Judah

But the Judean homeland, devastated and impoverished by Babylonia, was in no condition to support a significant restoration. Many Judeans in Babylonia failed to take advantage of the new liberty to return to Judah. The majority, having adapted themselves well enough to their new home, lacked the necessary incentive to start all over again in a much poorer land. As for the many who had never been forced into exile, few evinced any enthusiasm for rebuilding the Temple and for recapturing a way of life long since abandoned. Nearly twenty years after Cyrus' edict, the prophet Haggai condemned the Judeans for their inertia, saying bitterly, "Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your paneled houses, while this House lies in ruins?" (1:4). When drought and famine came upon the land, Haggai insisted that the hardships were a manifestation of God's displeasure at the people's failure to rebuild His Temple. The prophet Zechariah, too, castigated the people for their apathy.

The foreigners who had poured into Judah during the Exile saw the restoration of the Temple as a threat to their position and prosperity, and, accordingly, opposed it. Among those of mixed marriages, the attitudes ranged from complete indifference to a willingness to back the projects; but when some of this mixed population, chiefly the Samaritans, volunteered their assistance, their offer was rejected and they were denounced as idolators (Ezra 4:1–4, 24; 5–6).

During this period, Zerubbabel, of the family of King Jehoiachin and the House of David, was the civil head of the community, and Joshua the high priest was recognized leader of the priestly group. Haggai and Zechariah had envisaged a restoration of Judah under a scion of the House of David, with a free priesthood in full charge of the Temple and religious matters.

It was, however, the representatives of the religious rather than the civil authority who finally came to power. Cambyses II, son and successor of Cyrus, committed suicide in 522 B.C., and for a brief interval the Persian empire faltered. During the confusion, several of the subject provinces revolted, creating the impression among some of the Judeans still at home—Haggai and Zechariah among them —that the end of the empire was at hand. Jumping at what they took to be a chance to restore Judah's independence at one blow, they named Zerubbabel God's chosen one, thus declaring independence of Persia (Haggai 2:20–23). The priestly group seems to have been more cautious. And their caution was rewarded when Darius I (522–486 B.C.), crushed the widespread rebellion and re-established the imperial rule.

Just how Zerubbabel and his backers fared during this troubled interlude is not known, but the movement is never heard of again. Led by Haggai and Joshua, however, the Judeans perserved in their efforts to rebuild the Temple. The Persian government, in accordance with its general policy of supporting local priesthoods, ignored the objections of its own governor, Tattenai, and of the anti-Jewish section of the population, and granted the Jews permission to continue with the work. About 516 B.C. the second Temple was dedicated, just seventy years after the

first had been destroyed. Judah now became a theocracy, under Persian rule, with Joshua the high priest at its head.

Little is known about the happenings in Judea during the earlier part of the fifth century. The Persian government continued its policy of granting its colonies, Judea included, a considerable degree of religious and cultural autonomy, keeping at the same time a firm hold on military, economic, and political affairs. The Jewish community in Judea grew in numbers and in prosperity only gradually, and while it seems to have taken good care of the Temple, it permitted the walls of Jerusalem, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar's army, to remain in ruins. At the same time, intermarriage between the Judeans and the gentiles continued, and their assimilation progressed.

The Jewries of Egypt and Persia

Elsewhere in the Persian empire Jews were involved in two revealing incidents. It will be remembered that when Nebuchadnezzar's forces were overrunning Judah, and again when the Judeans revolted—to their sorrow—against Gedaliah, some of the populace sought asylum in Egypt. About sixty years later (c. 525 B.C.) the Persians incorporated Egypt in their empire, whereupon some of the expatriate Jews there volunteered for military service with the conqueror, and were assigned to garrison duty.

The sudden reappearance of Jews in Egyptian history is recorded by the Elephantine Papyri, ancient documents of a Jewish military colony at the city of Elephantine, just below the first cataract of the Nile. Written in Aramaic —the "language of diplomacy and trade throughout western Asia in the Persian period, and which was gradually replacing Hebrew as the everyday tongue of the Jewish

people not only abroad, but also at home in Palestine"—the Elephantine Papyri constitute a prime source for the reconstruction of Egyptian and Jewish history and throw important side lights on the colonial history of Persia as well. They indicate, for example, that the imperial rule of the Persian government was generally liberal, at least in comparison with the naked despotism of her predecessors, Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria.

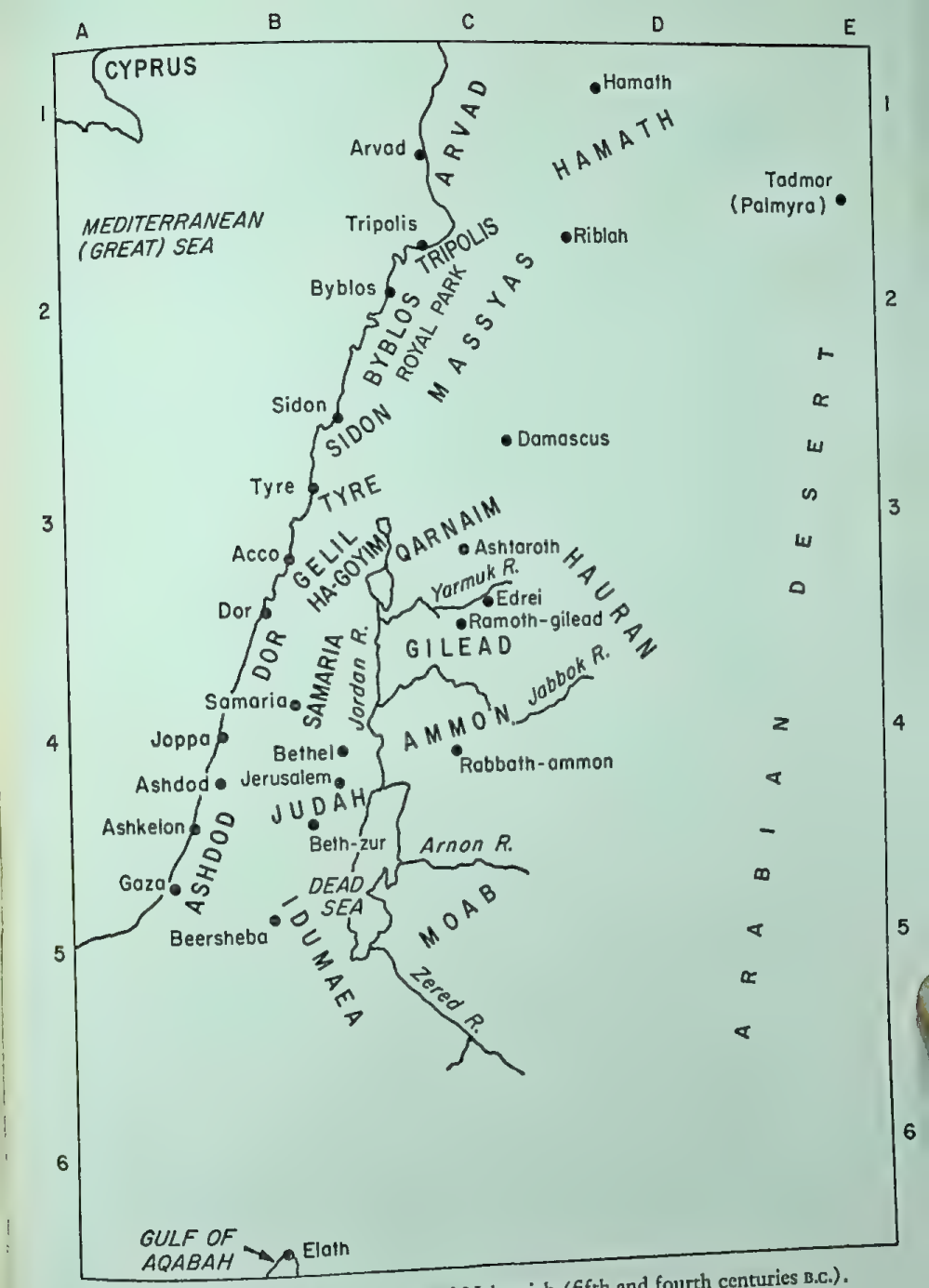
The Jewish colony was allowed its own temple where sacrifices were regularly offered up to God and around which the colony's activities revolved. The business contracts and other documents among the Papyri indicate that the Jews bought and sold land and houses, married and divorced, and, in general, lived a normal life. There is evidence that some Jews intermarried with the Egyptians and became more or less assimilated in the religious and social life of the country. The community as a whole, however, appears to have retained a distinct character. For one thing, it was organized along military lines, with Persians and Babylonians normally in command of the larger units. Then too, the Jews, unlike the native Egyptians, employed Aramaic as their official language. Finally the Jewish colonists, genuinely appreciative of the Persian colonial policy and their privileged position in the imperial organization, were the most loyal subjects that Persia had.

On several occasions the Egyptians revolted against their Persian conquerors. In one of these uprisings, during the reign of Darius II (about 410), a mob incited by the local priests and merchants attacked and looted the Jewish temple in the first anti-Jewish pogrom on record. The motivation behind this directed outburst of violence—which the Persian authorities quickly suppressed and punished—appears

to have been a combination of two related factors. First, the Egyptian upper classes sought to divert the social discontent among the general population against an alien religious group which could also be identified with Persian imperialism. Second, the Egyptian priests and merchants hoped to exploit the general social discontent to weaken and, if possible, to destroy their economic rivals in the Jewish community.

The Book of Esther describes a similar incident, this time at Susa, at the eastern end of the Persian empire. A certain Haman, the highest official in the regime of King Ahasuerus—perhaps one of the Xerxes kings—persuaded his master to hand over to him for destruction and spoil the Jews of Susa and of the empire. Haman pointed out that the Jews were unassimilable, and that "their laws are diverse from those of every people" (Esther 3:8). Indeed, Haman argued, it was "not to the king's profit to tolerate them," and for the privilege of stripping them—which would be a public service—he offered to pay ten thousand talents of silver. In spite of the extraordinary offer Haman was thwarted by Ahasuerus' favorite, the Jewess Esther (Hadassah). Under the guidance of her wise cousin, Mordecai, she caused Haman to be hanged from his own gallows and his henchmen killed. But the Jews, in their turn, "did not stretch forth their hand to the spoil" of the Persians (3:11, 13; 9:15–16).

The Book of Esther, as so many critics have pointed out, is much too pat and wishfully contrived to be accepted as simple historical fact. Yet the account, however much idealized, follows closely, in essence, the objective chronicle of the Elephantine Papyri, and may therefore safely be considered as a reflection of fact. It seems more than likely



V. The restoration under Ezra and Nehemiah (fifth and fourth centuries B.C.).

that under the Achemenid regime expatriate Jews achieved positions of wealth and influence, not only in Egypt but throughout the Persian empire, and that this personal prosperity produced the usual inimical repercussions engendered by minority success—which would account for the story of Esther, or pogrom narrowly averted.

Among the Jews, the triumph of Esther came to be observed in the joyous feast of Purim, which recalls

> the days wherein the Jews had rest from their enemies, and the month was turned for them from sorrow to gladness, and from mourning to a good day; that they should make them days of feasting and gladness, and of sending choice portions one to another, and gifts to the poor [9:22].

After the destruction of Judah and the Temple, and the subsequent exile, it was natural for a people to celebrate joyfully such a narrow and triumphant escape from great disaster.

Ezra and Nehemiah

To return to Judah—or Judea, to keep its new status clear—the decisive turn toward national as well as religious revival came about in the time of Ezra the Scribe and Nehemiah. Just when Ezra lived is unknown—even whether he preceded, was contemporary with, or followed Nehemiah. But their combined influence on the history of Judea during the latter half of the fifth and the first decades of the fourth centuries is made abundantly clear in the Biblical text.

An important person in the Jewish community of Babylon and highly regarded by the Persian government, Ezra, "the priest and scribe of the Law of the God of heaven," was authorized by King Artaxerxes to proceed to Jeru-

salem and there, with the assistance of the king's officials, to reorganize the entire Jewish community in accordance with the Law of Moses (Ezra 7:12–26).

Ezra brought back with him to Judea the various compilations which recorded the early traditions of the patriarchal and Mosaic period, substantially the Five Books of Moses as preserved today. Chapter 8 of Nehemiah describes the dramatic scene in Jerusalem when the entire adult Jewish population gathered to hear Ezra read and explain to them the text of the Torah, the Law of Moses. Rabbi Jose of Palestine (second century A.D.) justly expressed the importance of Ezra, even in comparison with Moses, in the establishment of the Torah as the basis of Judaism, when he said, "Ezra was worthy of having the Law given through him to Israel, had not Moses preceded him."

One of the important consequences of the official adoption of the Torah, in addition to the renewed observance of such holy days as the feasts of Tabernacles (Succoth) and Passover, was the decision of Ezra to order every Jew to divorce his gentile wife. This was a far-reaching decision, and not an easy one to carry out. Opposition to this move came from every walk of Jewish life, and it found expression in the Book of Ruth. The author of this beautiful little novel expressed the opinion that no gentile who became a sincere convert to Judaism, such as Ruth the Moabitess, should be cast out or denied.

This attitude would not ordinarily have been rejected; but in this period intermarriage had become so extensive, and the consequences so detrimental to the Jews as God's people, that Ezra and his followers could no longer accept the results in silence. It should be noted, in this connection, too, that the author of Ruth did not favor Judean missionary

activity among the gentiles. Biblical Israel was not evangelical, and genuine voluntary conversion to Judaism was at most condoned.

While maintaining the policy of continued loyalty to Persia, Ezra led a social and religious revival in Judea. At about this time some Jews began to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. This prompted the governor of Samaria, under whose administration Judea lay, to notify King Artaxerxes that the Jews were planning to revolt. The king at once ordered the work stopped. Nehemiah, a loyal cup-bearer in the royal court and an ardent supporter of the restoration of Jerusalem as a religious symbol and center, hearing of the order, pleaded to be allowed to supervise the work himself, vowing that he would proceed in such a way that the imperial interest would not be jeopardized. "If it please the king," he begged, "and if your servant has found favor in your sight, send me to Judah, to the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it" (Nehemiah 2:5).

Artaxerxes was persuaded, and Nehemiah went to Judea taking with him full credentials and authority. As would be expected, Nehemiah's extraordinary powers aroused bitter opposition in Judea. Sanballat, governor of Samaria and Nehemiah's superior, and Tobiah, governor of Ammon, accused Nehemiah of plotting a revolt against the king. Geshem the Arab, perhaps the governor of Dedan in Arabia, "whom it grieved greatly that someone had come to seek the welfare of the children of Israel" (2:19), also took umbrage. Geshem became embroiled in the Judean situation because of his fear of a commercial revival to the north, which would have put him back in the same disadvantageous position that Arabia's Queen of Sheba had occupied in relation to Israel's King Solomon.

Nehemiah, however, was not deterred, nor did the Persian central government withdraw its support. The walls of Jerusalem, the Bible tells us, were restored in fifty-two days of heroic effort, as Nehemiah had boasted would happen in his prophetic defiance: "The God of heaven will succeed for us; and we His servants, we will arise and we will build. And you will have no portion or right or memorial in Jerusalem" (2:20). The builders "did the work with one hand and held a weapon in the other," we are told in a passage (Nehemiah 4:11 ff.; 4:17 ff. in the English versions) that recalls the rebuilding of modern Israel.

As had so often happened before in Judea, improving fortune brought a corresponding increase of social inequity. Once again the upper-class Judeans enriched themselves at the expense of the poor. The moneylenders tightened their fists, the common folk began to lose their land and property, serfdom reappeared. "We are forcing our sons and daughters to become slaves," the people complained to Nehemiah: "Some of our daughters have been enslaved, and we cannot help it, for other men possess our fields and our vineyards" (5:1 ff.).

The heavy tribute paid to Persia by Judea further aggravated the situation because the well to do industriously foisted onto the common people as large a share as possible of this collective obligation. To correct the serious dislocation, Nehemiah attempted to force the rich to take an oath guaranteeing the return of mortgaged properties and goods held under pledge to their owners. This act of social justice, which may possibly have been a political move to win mass support for the theocratic party, provoked the Persian overseers to recall Nehemiah to Shushan.

During his absence, religious conditions in Jerusalem de-

teriorated. Tobiah the Ammonite had set up living quarters in the court of the Temple. Many of the levitical and priestly workers had left the Temple because they were not being supported by its revenues. The Sabbath was being violated, by Jews as well as by local Tyrian merchants. Intermarriage between Jews and the gentile populations of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab again increased, and the children were being raised in ignorance of their Jewish faith and of the Hebrew language.

When the zealot, Nehemiah, finally returned to Jerusalem, he wasted no time in throwing out Tobiah. He appointed honest treasurers and restored the Temple staff to full complement. Breakers of the Sabbath laws were arrested and punished. And those who dared flout the ban on intermarriage were fined, cursed, and made to take an oath that never would they permit their issue to marry a gentile. Nehemiah ended his remarkable memoirs with the plea, "Remember me, O my God, for good."

The Jewish Theocratic State

The historical legacy of Ezra and Nehemiah was the theocratic state of Judea. The Persian Royal administration and the High Priest of Judah represented the upper class, the practical work of administration being done by the civil service, temple bureaucracies, and the judiciary. The urban and rural population, especially the peasantry, who supported the entire structure, accepted the Mosaic Law and priestly control, in the belief that their well-being was thus assured.

The Jewish theocratic state was strong enough to withstand the various forces of opposition, both domestic and international, which beset her. Thus Sanballat of Samaria

built a temple on Mount Gerizim for his son-in-law, Manasseh, grandson of Eliashib the high priest of Jerusalem. This Samaritan shrine and its adherents became in time a festering sore to the Jews of Judea.

The administrative and religious bureaucracies fought constantly for power. On one occasion (about 400), Bagoas, the governor of Judea, threatened to dismiss Jonathan, the high priest, in favor of the latter's brother, Joshua. Jonathan murdered Joshua in the Temple, and Bagoas used this as a pretext to interfere with the Temple services and the priestly prerogatives.

A pattern of Judaism was being woven in Judea while the Persian empire at large was beginning to show signs of disintegration. The history of the Jewish people, shaped largely by the priests during the rest of the Persian period, was soon to enter a new stage, in the hellenistic period, when the theocratic state was replaced by a commonwealth, and when the Torah constitution was reinterpreted by the liberal Pharisees in accordance with the new conditions. The Judaism which the Pharisees developed maintained a profound influence on all phases of Jewish life during the more than two thousand years which followed and is a potent factor in Judaism and in Israel today.

CHAPTER VII

The Hebraic Spirit: The Prophetic Movement and Social Justice

THE prophetic movement forms the climax of Biblical history. Nothing comparable was produced by any of the other Near Eastern civilizations of antiquity. Its influence has followed the spread of, and dominated the development of, the three great world religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, to such extent that for twenty centuries, over nearly half the land surface of the globe, the consciences of civilized men have spoken with the accents of the prophets. The socialists of the nineteenth century, who scorned all revealed religion, acknowledged the prophets as the first social reformers and the source of their own new doctrine. Even rationalist and skeptical scholars of the period, who rejected nearly every part of the Bible as unhistorical, recognized the greatness of the prophets, the validity of their teaching, and the power of their eloquence.

The Rise of the Prophetic Movement

The Hebrew word for "prophet" is *nabi,* but its original meaning is not known. It would seem that *nabi* in the Bible means approximately "spokesman," as when the Lord told

Moses, "Aaron your brother shall be your spokesman (*nabi*)" (Exodus 7:1; compare "shall be your mouth" in 4:16). That is how the Jews themselves translated *nabi*—in the oldest Greek translation of the Pentateuch, the Septuagint, about 200 B.C.; and the Greek word which was there employed, *prophetes*, "declarer" or "interpreter," is the source of the English word "prophet." It even appears that the word "prophet" in English meant simply "forth-teller" or "preacher" as late as the time of Queen Elizabeth; the meaning "foretelling," "predicting," is a later development. The prophet spoke for God, and interpreted His word and will to his fellow Israelites.

The prophetic movement in Israel developed in two distinct stages. In the earlier phase, the Biblical prophets were essentially no different from the diviners common to the ancient Near East in general. In fact, the Bible itself states explicitly, in an editorial gloss at I Samuel 9:9, "Previously in Israel, when a person went to inquire of God, thus he said, 'Come, let us go to the seer'; for he who is now called a prophet was previously called a seer." Samuel the prophet was called a "seer" and "a man of God." And in II Samuel 24:11 we read that "the word of the Lord came to the prophet Gad, David's visionary [or, seer]."

Soothsayers, seers, miracle workers—that is, people who divined by magic formula, who gave out oracular utterances, who professed expertness in transmitting the supernatural—were a definite social group in the ancient civilizations of the Near East. Ecstasy, frenzy, the examination of the liver and entrails of animals, the flight of birds, the interpretation of dreams, astrology, the casting of lots, divination by water—all these were the property and trademark of the priestly and related guilds from the Euphrates

to the Nile. For the seers of antiquity were organized in guilds, which had set rules governing masters and apprentices, as surely as if they were stonemasons. These craftsmen in the supernatural worked both in groups and as individuals.

Cuneiform texts recently discovered at Mari, dating from the eighteenth century B.C., illustrate this earlier stage in Biblical prophecy. One describes how a deputation of priests advises the king to pay more attention to the gods that they represent and to the sanctuary that they make it their business to tend. Another text, this one from Egypt and dating back to about 1100 B.C., illustrates how holy men resorted to states of frenzy in order to "divine."

Such seizures and frenzies are reported of Biblical prophecy in its formative stage, often in a context which suggests the existence of recognized soothsayer or seer groups specializing in the invocation of hysterical trances. For example, shortly after Saul was anointed king by Samuel, he ran into a "band of prophets coming down from the shrine, led by harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre . . . and the spirit of God rushed upon him, and he prophesied among them" (I Samuel 10:5–12). In fact, it seems probable that the early prophets were all to some degree professional soothsayers. Several, Nathan, Gad, and Iddo, for example, were attached to the royal court, just as the priests, the tax-collectors, the commander-in-chief of the army, and other royal functionaries. Others, like Samuel of Ramah and Ahijah of Shiloh, were attached to sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem; and in this early stage, they frequently worked in groups. Samuel himself was head of such a "band of prophets" as Saul had met (19:20). In the days of Elijah and Elisha there is frequent mention of groups of

prophets of the Lord, among them the groups located at Jericho and Bethel. On another occasion four hundred "prophets of the Lord" were summoned by Jehoshaphat of Judah and the king of Israel to interpret God's will in regard to an attack on Ramoth-gilead (I Kings 22:6). This incident recalls the 450 prophets of Baal and the 400 prophets of Asherah who contested with Elijah's God on Mount Carmel (I Kings 18).

Among the earlier prophets, it was also characteristic to transmit the craft from generation to generation. Elijah trained Elisha and invested him as his successor (II Kings 2, a dramatic chapter), and before them, Jehu the prophet was the father of Hanani the seer (I Kings 16:1, 7; II Chronicles 16:7–10). Likewise, nearly all performed miracles, as Moses did before Pharaoh to convince him that the God of the Hebrews was supreme. Samuel was a seer; and the prophets Elijah and Elisha freely worked miracles of various kinds.

From Miracle to Rhapsody

In the eighth century, however, divination and miracle working were virtually eliminated from the prophetic tradition in Israel. Seers such as Samuel and miracle workers like Elijah and Elisha ceased to be the norm. The ecstatic element continued, but the prophets began to utilize and perfect another medium by which to convince their fellow Israelites of the truth of their teachings. To achieve this effect they began to rely more and more on the eloquence and logic of their literary compositions.

The development from the miracle-working to the rhapsodic stage of prophecy was not peaceful and evolutionary. The literary prophets were opposed to the prophetic

guilds, to the practice of prophecy as a craft, and to the idea that any person could be taught by the masters how to "prophesy."

There is no evidence that any of the later literary prophets functioned in groups or that they were heads or members of guilds or that they trained disciples. They were not representatives of any court or sanctuary, nor did they practice prophecy as a regular occupation or a way to earn a living. Instead, they felt themselves inspired directly by God, and only when God and the occasion demanded, as Amos insisted (in the eighth century): "For the Lord God does nothing without revealing His counsel to His servants the prophets. . . . The Lord God has spoken, who can help but prophesy!" (3:7–8). Thus when the chief priest at Bethel contemptuously dismissed Amos and told him to go back to his native Judah to make a living there from his craft, Amos was stung to protest, "I am not a [professional] prophet nor a member of a prophetic guild [literally, the son of a prophet]; but I am a herdsman, and a dresser of sycamore trees" (7:12 ff.). In time, the literary prophets came to scorn the priests—who had become little more than functionaries of the royal court—and the various groups of prophets—whom they called "false prophets"—and they saw only themselves as the true spokesmen of God.

Although it should not be overlooked that several of the earlier prophets had produced important literary compositions, the later prophets fully merit the characterization of "literary" or "rhapsodic," to distinguish them from their predecessors. This title, however, must not be allowed to obscure the far more important fact that this elevation of style reflects a sublimated moral and religious experience,

free from the least trace of magic. It is this elevated character which fundamentally distinguishes the "literary" prophets from their precursors.

The Prophetic Concept of Social Justice: The Covenant and the Law

The prophets, the earlier as well as the later, took their stand on two fundamental ideas: first, that there was a Covenant between God and His people Israel and, second, that this Covenant bound the Israelites to a just relationship one to the other. It will be recalled that the patriarchs, individually, had entered into the Covenant with God that they would worship Him alone and that He would protect them. This personal Covenant was broadened in the period of Moses, as a consequence of the Exodus from Egypt, so that the entire population of Israel became God's chosen people to recognize and serve Him as the only God in the world. This Covenant, it should be noted carefully, was voluntary on both sides. God elected Israel in His love and grace, and Israel freely undertook to carry out the will of God.

According to the prophets, God agreed, for His part, to reward His faithful people in the land of Israel with economic prosperity, good health, and peace from all enemies (Deuteronomy 7:12 ff.; and elsewhere). When Israel prospered, therefore, it could be assumed that her people had found favor in the sight of the Lord, and prophetic activity was consequently at a minimum. When, however, a difficulty arose or threatened to appear, it was a sure sign that Israel had transgressed against the Covenant and that God was punishing His people. It was in such times of

crisis and distress that the prophets undertook to determine and expound the reasons for God's anger and the ways by which the Covenant could be restored.

Since it was not possible for God Himself to transgress the Covenant, the prophets necessarily sought the causes of conflict in the actions of the people. When the leaders or the common folk had worshiped other gods, as in the case of King Manasseh (II Kings 21), the prophets denounced those who practiced or tolerated this abomination. Far more often, however, Israelites broke the Covenant in their relations one with another, and it was such lapses that most frequently provoked the prophets' wrath.

The first obligation laid on the Israelites by the Covenant and the Law was the worship of the Lord with prayer and sacrifice. The prophets deemed these formal aspects of worship both necessary and good, but they regarded them as valueless unless fraught with sincerity which found expression in daily conduct. Isaiah would not accept lip service as a substitute for active faith and an upright life. He warns on behalf of God in the majestic first chapter of his book:

> Bring no more false offerings. Sacrifice is an abomination to Me. . . . I cannot endure iniquity along with the solemn assembly. . . . Even when you make many prayers, I will not hear. . . . Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean; put away your evil doings from before My eyes. Cease to do evil. Learn to do good. Seek justice. Relieve the oppressed. Take up the case for the fatherless. Plead for the widow.

The prophets, from first to last, demanded with stubborn insistence that the people bring their practices to conform with their beliefs. The teachings of the Lord, epitomized in the Torah, the Law of Moses, did not lead to

salvation unless put into daily use. When Saul disobeyed God's command to destroy all the flocks and herds of the Amalekites and instead offered up the choicest animals as a sacrifice, Samuel is reported to have rebuked him. Jeremiah denounced mere lip service and empty ritual time and time again, and on one occasion proclaimed:

> Thus says the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: Add your burnt offerings to your sacrifices, and eat the flesh. For I did not speak to your fathers nor command them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. But this thing I commanded them, saying, "Obey My voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be My people, and walk in all the way that I command you, that it may be well with you" [7:21–23].

Nowhere else but in ancient Israel has there been found such persistent and insistent emphasis on doing, on carrying out, not merely on believing in, the teachings of God's spokesmen. That is why Micah was able to put in so few words the essence of Biblical Judaism when he said:

> It has been shown to you. O man, what is good
> and what the Lord requires of you:
> Only to do justice
> and to love loyally
> and to walk humbly with your God [6:8].

This basic principle, that the law had to be obeyed in spirit together with the letter, was summed up even more succinctly in Deuteronomy 16:20, in the three Hebrew words *Tsédek tsédek tirdof*, "Justice, justice shall you pursue." Salvation by faith alone, or by deeds alone, was an unknown doctrine in the Bible; the letter was inseparable from the spirit, even as the act was inseparable from the

faith. The insistence on this point may well have arisen from the fact that, difficult as it is to judge the depth and sincerity of purely religious devotion, the justice of a man's acts to his fellows was immediately and inescapably apparent in the small tribal society within which the people of Israel lived. When a merchant was discovered cheating a customer in weighing or measuring, his act was regarded not merely as a civil offense against a fellow Israelite, but much worse as a breach of the Covenant and an abomination of the Lord (Deuteronomy 25:13–16; Leviticus 19:35–37). This sense of equality before the law, moreover, was so strong that a special warning had to be issued that care should be taken that a person not be favored in court merely because he was poor, any more than one be favored because of his wealth: "Justly shall you judge your neighbor" (Leviticus 19:15).

All the prophets considered all the Israelites to be equal before the Covenant and in the sight of God, be he king or priest, master or servant, rich or poor. This inherent equality imposed on everyone the personal and inescapable obligation to hear, understand, and obey the divine law. To the prophets, therefore, every act of injustice on the part of one Israelite to another, or of one group against another, was a transgression against the Covenant and necessarily brought on punishment. The function of the prophets was to discern such iniquities in whatever form, and to persuade the transgressors to repent their sins and to return to God. This equality before the Covenant raised all Israelites to the common dignity of participating in the Covenant with God.

The injunction upon each Israelite to deal justly with his fellows thereby became more than the defense of

rights of property or persons; it became a defense of human dignity. Thus, if a man was to be lashed in punishment for a crime, then the maximum number of stripes was to be forty, "lest, if he should continue to be struck many stripes above these, your brother should be degraded in your presence" (Deuteronomy 25:1–3). And if the law forbade the gleaning of the vineyard and commanded that "it should be for the sojourner, the fatherless and the widow," it was expressly pointed out that God did so because He wanted the Israelites to remember that they too were once helpless slaves, in Egypt (24:21–22).

It has long been recognized that law played an extremely important part in the life of Israel, but even so, sufficient attention has not always been paid to the essential nature of Israel's laws. They established not only the code of conduct for all Israelites in dealing one with another—and especially the relations between members of the ruling classes and the less powerful—but through this code gave expression to the obligation for just and righteous behavior inherent in the Covenant. The prophets, more than any other group, emphasized the fact that the laws expressed God's will or, as one Psalmist said in praise of God and His Covenant: "Righteousness and justice are the foundation of Your throne, steadfast love and truth go before You" (Psalm 89:15).

Although the prophets are now usually recognized as the greatest source of inspiration for doctrines of social reform, they were nevertheless reformers within, rather than of, their social system. They supported the existing order and concentrated all their magnificent indignation on the need to infuse the observance of ritual and legal regulations with spiritual integrity and a deep sense of moral

justice. It was this emphasis on the spirit of the law which at once provoked the prophets to their greatest denunciations and exhortations and at the same time brought them into conflict with the privileged members of their society. As has generally been the way of the rich and powerful, the privileged Israelites frequently succumbed to the temptation to use the law to their advantage; and while insisting most vehemently on the literal observance of ritual and legality, they often failed most significantly to live up to the highest standards implied in the Covenant. It was failings of this sort that provided the prophets with the texts for their most eloquent sermons.

Thus it was not social inequality but social injustice which they denounced, not the existence of rich and poor within the same society but the abuse of the poor by their richer brethren which they decried, not the creation of a new society but the infusion of the Israel they knew with a new spirit which they demanded. Their basic social philosophy rested on the conviction that if the people expressed their faith in God by obeying His commandments in their hearts as well as in their acts, the moral climate of Israel would be purified and the life of her society would be sound.

The alternative was clear. Transgression of justice and rejection of God's will were sure to be followed by swift and terrible punishment meted out by God Himself. Innumerable examples of this divine retribution are recorded in the Bible. Indeed, the frequency with which the prophetic warnings of doom were fulfilled revived, later on, the concept that God's spokesmen were foretellers or that they had the power to call down upon the hapless sinner the curse of heaven. To the prophets themselves, however, neither

attribution was justified. Punishment was ordained by God, and the recognition that it would follow injustice was not a secret to be divined by a seer but rather the inescapable conclusion of the Covenant.

The Fate of the Prophets and Their Teachings

It was the fate of the prophets, however, that even within this limited context their teachings were not put into practice. The majestic simplicity and vigor of their language, together with their unswerving concentration on the basic elements of the Hebrew faith and moral code, made it all but impossible for their exhortations to be ignored. When, however, a prophet's denunciation of wrongdoing too strongly swayed the oppressed—if not the oppressors—the ruling classes frequently were forced to pay lip service to the prophetic message in order to maintain or strengthen their hold on the people. Thus the writings of Amos were accepted, to become part of Holy Writ, and used by the secular and priestly rulers to strengthen the institutions of law and public worship. Similarly, the so-called Reformation of Josiah, which Jeremiah first supported enthusiastically, provided one more occasion for the use of prophetic teachings in the special interests of the monarchy and the priesthood of Jerusalem. Vehemently, as the prophets demanded the substance of justice for the orphan and the widow, for the weak and the oppressed, the laws of the kingdom continued to punish ritual transgression more regularly and more severely than moral injustice.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the prophets was the forthrightness and conviction with which they addressed themselves to those Israelites, without the least regard for their rank or power, who flouted or perverted

the law. Through this uncompromising vehemence, the prophets continually risked and sometimes suffered abuse and even death at the hands of those they attacked. Indeed, believing that all Israelites were equal before the Covenant and in the sight of the Lord, the prophets could hardly have done otherwise than denounce the iniquities of the strong with the same freedom and vigor as those of the weak, and when they suffered it was for their fierce love of the inexorable justice of their God.

Nathan did not hesitate to denounce David the mighty king for his murderous action against Uriah the Hittite (II Samuel 12). Elijah had to flee for his life because of his vehement denunciations of Ahab and Jezebel. Micaiah was hit on the cheek and thrown into prison (I Kings 22:24–27). Amos the Judean risked limb and life when he audaciously invaded the royal sanctuary at Bethel and told the royal house and its supporters what lay in store for them as retribution for their rebellion against the Lord. Because Jeremiah bitterly denounced the domestic and foreign policy of his government, his life was threatened, he was beaten, he was put in stocks, and he was thrown into a dungeon, so that he was constrained to cry out, "And I was like a docile lamb that is led to the slaughter" (11:19). The Second Isaiah echoed these words when he described himself "as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that is dumb before her shearers" (53:7). Ezekiel was told by God, "And you, son of man, be not afraid of them, neither be afraid of their words, though briers and thorns be with you and you dwell among scorpions" (Ezekiel 2:6). Uriah the prophet was killed by King Jehoiakim (Jeremiah 26:20–23), and the prophet Zechariah was stoned to death (II Chronicles 24:20–21).

Read in a later time and under wholly altered circumstances, these sufferings were interpreted as expiatory sacrifices meekly accepted by the prophets to atone for the iniquities of their people, and the prophetic insistence on the equality of all before the Covenant was interpreted as belief in a universality encompassing not merely the children of Israel but all men of all nations.

In the great prophecies of doom one of the most common and impressive themes is the warning to the Israelites that unless they hearken to the word of the Lord they would suffer defeat and even conquest at the hands of their enemies. Thus in the reigns of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah (about 608–586 B.C.), a powerful section of the Judean ruling class wanted to make a pact with Egypt and other countries against Babylonia. Jeremiah, however, condemned this move as contrary to the will of God and therefore a step toward certain disaster. Instead, he urged a policy of continued co-operation with Babylonia (e.g., Jeremiah 25–29).

The same pattern is evident over a century earlier, about 735 B.C., when Isaiah analyzed the efforts of King Pekah of Israel and King Rezin of Aram to force Judah into a coalition against the expanding Assyrian empire (Isaiah 7–8). The prophet advised Judah's government to avoid any such alliance, warning that Israel and her Aramean ally would surely fall. "Behold," he said,

> a young woman is with child and shall bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. . . . And before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land before whose two kings you are in dread will be deserted" [7:14 ff.].

The historical context makes it clear that the prophets were, in fact, analyzing with extraordinary acumen the

balance of forces in the world of the Levant and urging their conclusions upon their fellow Israelites with the majestic eloquence of their tradition. Read in this light, the reference to the young woman and her child becomes nothing more than a dramatic measure of time, a warning that before the unborn child will be old enough to know the difference between good and evil, the Lord will bring devastation on Judah's enemies (compare 8: 1–4). Yet when passages of this sort were read in a later and wholly different set of conditions they laid the basis for the common belief that the prophets were foretellers and that their gift was based not merely on their power of analysis of an immediate situation, but was derived rather from divine inspiration and implied distant and mystical promises.

After the destruction of the Jewish state in 70 A.D., the post-Biblical Jews accepted this concept of prediction as the most significant aspect of prophetic literature. The scrupulous analysis of long-past political and military situations no longer concerned the heirs of the Biblical tradition. The literary power of the prophets was such that their works were still read and increasingly searched for meanings relevant to a new age and a new situation. Warnings of defeat and destruction were no longer meaningful after the Dispersion, and the temptation to find hidden promises of restoration and final triumph was overpowering.

Not only did the Jews of the first and second century A.D. read in the prophets a prediction of the new exile and a second restoration, but the early Christians found in the same source predictions of the coming of Jesus and his messianic role. But just as the dubious quality of prediction was only retroactively associated with the prophetic writ-

ings, so too was the concept of messianism improperly projected back into the prophetic writings.

It is true that the prophets believed that God would restore His people Israel to their country under the rule of a descendant of the house of David. Anyone who was chosen by the Lord through His prophets to be ruler of His people was regarded as "His messiah," literally, "His anointed." Thus Saul was the "Lord's anointed" (I Samuel 24:7; and frequently), and so were David and Zedekiah (II Samuel 19:22; Lamentations 4:20). Even King Cyrus of Persia, whom the Second Isaiah recognized as God's agent to destroy Babylonia and restore Israel, is described as "His anointed" (Isaiah 45:1). In every case throughout the Biblical period, the "anointed" person was a human being. And when the physical restoration of Israel was contemplated, it was a scion of David who was to be the ruler, the anointed of the Lord. Thus it was Zerubbabel, of the house of David, who led the Restoration of Judah after the Babylonian Exile.

The idea of a superhuman anointed leader, indeed, the very use of the term "Messiah" (with capital "M"), who would be sent down by God at some distant time to intervene directly in behalf of Israel against her oppressors, or in behalf of the righteous against the wicked, is a post-Biblical development in Jewish and Christian circles. Painfully aware that they were unable to cope with the might of Roman imperialism and casting about desperately for comfort and hope in this period of distress and despair, many Jews read back into the Biblical Books the idea and prediction of a superhuman Messiah who would bring deliverance to the Jews at the behest of God. To the Christians,

this Messiah was the Christ (from the Greek for "anointed") and Isaiah's young woman with child who would bear a son was the Virgin Mary.

Those who found in the great prophecies the promise of a Messiah tended also to find in the lives of the prophets, with their frequent sufferings, an anticipation of a later, primarily Christian, doctrine of atonement. It became widely assumed that the Second Isaiah, for example, accepted his undeserved suffering meekly and thereby succeeded in sparing his fellow Jews the punishment and doom which was their due for their transgressions against the law and the word of God. According to this doctrine the innocent prophets suffered for the iniquities committed by the people as a whole and served as a substitute for them. There is, however, no basis in the Bible for this principle. It is true that the wickedness of the people was followed by the appearance of the prophets, who as a consequence sometimes suffered abuse; but there is not to be found a single instance in the entire Hebrew Bible where the suffering of a prophet atoned for the sins of a group. Nothing could have been farther from the spirit of the prophetic teachings; that the just and faithful should suffer vicariously, that is, as a substitute, for the unjust and blasphemous, would have been the greatest injustice of all. The prophets insisted on breathing human warmth and understanding into the Law, but they never preached a doctrine which superseded the Covenant and which allowed the sacrifice—in any form—of the innocent in place of the guilty.

By the same canon of justice the prophets frequently found that Israel had suffered sufficient punishment for its sins. Repeated statements to this effect can be found in the Bible; the Second Isaiah himself, for example, far from har-

boring any notions of vicarious atonement, began his series of unsurpassed compositions to his fellow exiles with this tender consolation:

> Comfort ye, comfort ye My people,
> says your God,
> Speak tenderly to Jerusalem
> and proclaim unto her
> That her hard service is completed,
> that her punishment is accepted,
> That she has received of the hand of the Lord
> double for all her sins [40:1–2].

The concept of vicarious suffering and atonement, then, derives from and has meaning in post-Biblical times when the Jewish state was destroyed and many Jews exiled from the land by the Roman conqueror. It was then, in the rabbinic interpretation, that the "servant of the Lord" in Isaiah 52:13–53:12—who is none other than the prophet himself—came to be identified with the people Israel and Israel came to be regarded as God's servant in suffering vicariously for the sins of the gentile world. Christianity, by contrast, identified the "servant of the Lord" with Jesus. Consequently, the Second Isaiah came to be regarded as the "suffering" servant of the Lord. In reality, he was no more a "suffering" servant than Elijah, or Jeremiah, or Uriah, or Ezekiel. The common term "suffering servant" is wholly unjustified and misleading in this context.

Particularism and Universality in the Teachings of the Prophets

Another, perhaps the most important, of the concepts anachronistically read back into the tradition of the prophets was the idea that their teachings broadened out until they

encompassed all humanity in a common brotherhood. One of the most frequently quoted, and erroneously interpreted, Bible texts is the well-known passage from Malachi: "Have we not all one father? Has not one God created us?" (2:10). But this verse has been wrenched violently out of its original context when it is made to refer to all mankind. Actually, it charges that the Judean priests of God "have corrupted the Covenant" of the Lord (verses 1–9), that all Israel "has profaned the holiness of the Lord" (verse 11), and that the Lord will punish the transgressors. Malachi's meaning is no different at this point than in the first chapter of his Book, where he proposes that the Lord will destroy Edom if they try to rebuild their land.

The prophetic tradition rests squarely on the idea of the Covenant between the Lord and His people Israel. The prophets were concerned directly and exclusively with this "chosen people," and they took notice of other peoples and nations only when the latter came into contact—invariably for bad rather than good—with Judah and Israel. "Hear this word that the Lord has spoken concerning you," Amos said. "You only, have I recognized of all the families of the earth" (3:1–2). The concept of equality between nations would have been incomprehensible to the prophets or their people. It was an idea which could develop only later and under wholly different circumstances and which, not surprisingly, was read back into the prophetic texts by both Jews and Christians when Rome forced the Jews into exile after A.D. 70 and they found themselves adrift in the vast reaches of the Empire.

The land of Israel which the prophets had known was geographically situated at the military crossroads of the ancient Near East. Its population was small and its pos-

sibilities of defense slight, with the result that it knew but few extended periods of peace or freedom from fear of Assyria, Aram, Egypt, and Babylonia. The greatest need and desire of Israel was for peace from her neighbors. Her people were not concerned with the international politics or the welfare of Egypt, Moab, Tyre, or Sidon. Their one concern was to be left alone, and it was this overwhelming desire that Isaiah (2:4) and Micah (4:3) expressed in the famous lines:

> And [the Lord] shall judge between the nations,
> and He shall decide for many peoples;
> And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
> and their spears into pruning-hooks.
> Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
> neither shall they learn war any more.[1]

Read wishfully, this majestic passage might be construed, as it so often has been, to imply a desire for the brotherhood of men and the universal peace on earth. In hard fact, the context excludes this sentimental interpretation. Isaiah and Micah rigidly predicate any such peace on the triumph of Israel. "Out of Zion shall go forth the law," they say, "and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

The Second Isaiah, whose moral outlook is generally regarded as the least exclusivist, consistently proclaimed his strongly national point of view. He assures his fellow exiles:

> Thus says the Lord God:
> Behold I will lift up My hand to the nations,
> and raise My ensign to the peoples;
> And they shall bring your sons in their bosom,

[1] The prophet Joel (4:9 ff.; 3:9 ff. in the English versions), in keeping with the prophetic tradition, put this passage to equally nationalistic use.

and your daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders,
And kings shall be your foster-fathers
and their queens your nursing mothers.
With their face to the earth they shall bow down to you
and lick the dust of your feet.
And you shall know that I am the Lord [49:22–23].

In a germinal sense, in the sense that he was elementally responsive to the moods and emotions and sufferings of Israel, the Second Isaiah, as the other prophets, came to express many ideas that took on great meaning for later generations of Jews and Christians alike. Yet within his own historical setting these ideas applied only to his own people. "Awake, awake," he says:

Put on your strength. O Zion,
Put on your glorious garments,
Jerusalem, Holy City!
For there shall no more enter you
the uncircumsized and the unclean [52:1].

So speaks the prophet that his own people knew and understood, as they had known and understood Amos, Jeremiah, and the rest before him.

At the same time it would be misleading to leave the impression that the prophets' interest stopped short with their own people Israel and went no further. Israel, dwelling among other nations, was intimately and constantly affected by their actions, and the prophets' attention was repeatedly called to include them. The position of their tiny nation in the midst of other, more powerful, nations led the prophets to an outlook that was universal in its ultimate implications. Believing firmly that their God, the only God in existence, would ultimately deliver them from all threats from other nations, so that no more wars would come upon them, consciously aware that the Torah, their religion, was the only

code of laws and life by which man could live, the prophets expressed the conviction that all the peoples of the universe, after they had been through stress and strain at the hands of each other through the will of God, would come to realize that Israel and her religion and her God and His abode on Zion—that these constituted the only proper way of life in the entire world. The gentile peoples of the world would then come streaming to the mountain of the Lord's house, to the house of the God of Jacob, in order that, in the words of Isaiah (2:3) and Micah (4:2):

> He may teach us of His ways
> and we may walk in His paths.
> For out of Zion shall go forth the law,
> and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

While it was the civilization of Israel which the prophets would advocate for the other nations, and while nothing of the gentile cultures was considered worthy of incorporation into the Israelite way of life, the particularism of Israel and her prophetic spokesmen did lay the foundation for the later concept of universality. Gradually it came to be believed that all mankind, by adopting the principles of Israelite belief and practice—that is by accepting the obligations of the Covenant—might enjoy the fruits of God's bounty in the manner that God promised His own people Israel through His prophets. In this universalism, Biblical Israel and her prophets were unique in the Ancient Near East.

When the Jewish descendants of the prophets, during the hellenistic and especially the Roman periods, became more fully aware of living in a single great unified society that encompassed all of the known world, they drew upon and expanded the universalism of the prophets. The prophetic concept of the Covenant had aimed at making all men—of

the Israelite society, to be sure—equal in their essential human dignity. This concept, in turn, led to one much broader in scope, of the universality and inevitability of individual moral responsibility toward all men, not merely neighbors and fellow Israelites. It is recorded (Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 31a) that during the first century B.C. a heathen converted by Hillel, the great exponent of liberalizing Pharisaism in the days of Herod the Great, asked him for a brief exposition of Judaism. Hillel is said to have replied, "What is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow man. This is the whole Law. The rest is mere commentary." Hillel recognized correctly the implication of the Biblical verse: "And you shall love your neighbor as yourself; I am the Lord" (Leviticus 19:18). This precept was incorporated in Christianity and in the western tradition and transmitted from age to age with tremendous impact.

It is to the prophetic tradition more than any other source that western civilization owes its noblest concept of the moral and social obligations of the individual human being. Even if the prophets preached only to their fellow Israelites and saw justice only in the terms of their Covenant with their God, their ringing words have carried from age to age their belief that justice was for the weak as well as for the strong, that its fulfillment was as much a matter of the spirit as the letter of the law, that one could not serve God at the same time that he mistreated his fellow men, that to love God was to love justice, and that the love of justice placed within the conscience of each human being the ultimate inescapable obligation to denounce evil wherever he saw it, to defy a ruler who commanded him to break the Covenant, and to live in the law and the love of God no matter what the cost.

Chronological Summary

ALL dates are approximate and refer to the period B.C.

Before 100,000. *Palaeanthropus palestinensis*, chiefly in the Mount Carmel region of Palestine; a mixed race which stood much closer to Cro-Magnon man (*Homo sapiens*) than to the Neanderthal race.

8000–5500. The Natufian or Mesolithic (Middle Stone) Age in Palestine. Grain was cultivated and prepared, but Natufian man was still far more of a food gatherer (hunting, fishing) than a food producer. Domestication of the dog.

5500–4000. The Neolithic (New, or Late, Stone) Age in Palestine. Villages were established, sometimes around shrines. Pottery was introduced. Semites from vast Syrian and Arabian deserts overran the "Fertile Crescent," sometimes to remain. Increased domestication of animals, e.g., sheep. The Near Eastern Neolithic culture preceded the European by several millennia and influenced it considerably.

4000–3300. The Chalcolithic Age. Copper employed as well as flint. Pottery increasingly common.

Writing invented in Mesopotamia. The Jordan and Esdraelon valleys in Palestine settled, as well as other parts of the Near East.

3300–2000. The Early Bronze Age. Emergence of central states in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Semites and Sumerians in control of Mesopotamia. First empire in history, under Sargon of Akkad.

2000–1500. The Middle Bronze Age. Emergence of great empires in western Asia and Egypt. Ascendancy of Amorites (western Semites) and Canaanites in western Asia. The patriarchal period. The Mari age. Babylonian empire of Hammurabi (1726–1686), reduced by Hittites (1550). Palestine under Egyptian control. Hyksos invasion and domination of Egypt (1720–1550) and beginning of Hebrew descent into Egypt.

1500–1200. The Late Bronze Age. Hurrian domination of northern Mesopotamia (the Mitanni Kingdom) (1500–1370), followed by Hittite domination, and then Assyrian (1250). Zenith of Egyptian imperialism ("When Egypt Ruled the East") (1500–1100). Habiru invade and settle in Palestine. Hebrew Exodus from Egypt, under Moses (perhaps shortly after 1300). Wandering in wilderness of Sinai. Conquest of Canaan by Hebrews and Israelites. Term "Israel" first used in triumphal account of campaigns by Merneptah of Egypt (1230).

1200–1000. The Early Iron Age. Egypt in decline. Assyria the main power in Mesopotamia. Collapse of Canaanite power in Palestine. In-

vasion of Mediterranean coast of Palestine and Syria by the Philistines and other "sea peoples" from the Aegean regions. Habiru on both sides of the Jordan develop into separate nations: Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Israelites. Period of the Judges. Hebrew and Israelite tribes in struggle against the Canaanites and others in their midst and round about them. The Philistine threat spurs on most of the tribes to unite under Saul (1020–1005), Israel's first king.

1005–925. The United Israelite Kingdom under David (1005–965) and Solomon (965–925). The Israelite empire was the dominant power in western Asia.

925–875. The Divided Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The incursions of Shishak the Egyptian into Israel and Judah resulted in the reduction of Judean prosperity and thus ended her economic and political dominance over Israel. Judah maintained an adequate defence against hostile neighbors and continued to enjoy limited prosperity. Israel was continually faced with a military threat from Aram.

875–750. The Assyrian Threat. The dynasty of Omri, followed by that of Jehu, in Israel continued friendly relations with Phoenicia in response to the continued threat from Aram. The latter part of the ninth century saw the rise of an even greater threat—the warlike Assyrians. Elijah, Elisha, and Amos were prophets in Israel. The judicial and religious reforms of Jehoshaphat in Judah

were followed by violent internal struggles over succession to the throne and frequent incursions of Aramean forces. Uzziah (about 780–740) restored internal stability and led Judah to the peak of her power and prosperity.

750–650. The Fall of Israel. The past glories of the Davidic empire were momentarily revived in Israel until Assyrian power overwhelmed her and Israel fell (722). Hosea the prophet in Israel. A narrow margin of prosperity was maintained in Judah under the constant threat of the Assyrian forces. Assyria attacked Judah in force (700) but failed to carry through a definitive conquest. Isaiah and Micah the prophets in Judah.

650–586. The Fall of Judah. The final generation of Judah's independence was marred by frequent conflict with Assyria. Josiah, with the aid of the prophet Jeremiah, put through some religious reforms. Assyrian domination in the Near East was finally broken by Babylonian-Chaldean forces which, under Nebuchadnezzar, conquered Judah (586).

586–539. The Babylonian Captivity. The fall of Jerusalem (586) marked the beginning of the Babylonian Exile which was ended in 539 by the Edict of Liberation of Cyrus the Persian, conqueror of Babylon-Chaldea. Ezekiel and Second Isaiah the prophets of the Exile.

539–400. The First Return to Judah. Zerubbabel and

Joshua the secular and religious heads of Judea. Haggai and Zechariah the prophets in Judea. Temple in Jerusalem rebuilt.

400. The Second Return, and Hellenistic civilization. Second return to Judah, under Ezra. Jewish colonies in Egypt. Jewish theocracy established in Judea by Ezra and Nehemiah. The high priests rule Judea.

300. Hellenistic civilization overwhelms Western Asia and Egypt, following the conquests by Alexander the Great.

Suggestions for Further Reading

IN understanding the development of western civilization the Bible is unquestionably the most important single text, and no heir to this tradition who has not read it can consider himself educated. Of the translations available in English the best are *The Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament* (New York, 1952) and *The Old Testament—an American Translation*, rev. ed. by T. J. Meek (Chicago; several printings). A new translation (editor-in-chief H. M. Orlinsky) is now in progress of *The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text*, editor-in-chief M. L. Margolis (Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1917).

For those who would consult introductions along critical lines there are G. W. Anderson, *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament* (London, 1959); S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1914; now a Meridian paperback); R. H. Pfeiffer, *The Books of the Old Testament* (New York, 1957; an abridgment of his detailed *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1941). A conservative approach is followed in S. B. Frechof's *Preface to Scripture* (Cincinnati, 1950).

Only in more recent times has the Hebrew Bible been treated as literature. Richard G. Moulton, *The Literary Study of the Bible*, rev. ed. (Boston, 1899), and the companion volume, *The Modern Reader's Bible* (New York, 1930), are worth

reading. The Biblical literature is treated in broad perspective by H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Eng., 1936), in Vol. II, pp. 629–777.

The history of the Biblical period is subject to more frequent and serious change than that of any other, both because of the constant discovery of new texts and materials and the consequent reinterpretation of the older data. Whoever wishes to keep up with the latest discoveries and trends in the history of ancient Israel would do well to read regularly *The Biblical Archaeologist* (American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven; subscription $1.50 per year, for four issues). Ralph E. Turner's *The Great Cultural Traditions, the Foundations of Civilization* (2 vols.; New York and London, 1941), serves as a useful introduction to the ancient world in general, though the specific sections on ancient Israel (pp. 329–359, 697–734) need revision. Useful books on the beginnings of history are V. Gordon Childe's *Man Makes Himself* (Mentor Book, 1951), *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, 4th ed. (London, 1952), and *What Happened in History* (Pelican Book, 1954). A serviceable popular survey of the ancient Near East is S. Moscati, *The Face of the Ancient Orient* (London, 1960). H. Frankfort's *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (Anchor Book, 1950) is a penetrating study. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2d ed., ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1955), and the companion volume, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (1954), constitute an excellent collection of documents which shed direct and indirect light on the Hebrew Bible; *The Ancient Near East: an Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (1958) is a compendium of the two. I. Mendelsohn edited *Religions of the Ancient Near East: Sumero-Akkadian Religious Texts and Ugaritic Epics* (New York, 1955). A useful work is *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. Winton Thomas (New York, 1958). *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, ed. H. and H. A. Frankfort (Chicago, 1946), with chapters on Egypt (by J. A. Wil-

son), Mesopotamia (by T. Jacobsen), and the Hebrews (by W. A. Irwin), is an integrated attempt to explain the thinking of the ancient Near East; this volume (without the chapters on the Hebrews) appeared as *Before Philosophy* (Pelican Books, 1949). *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, ed. R. C. Dentan (New Haven, 1955); *Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient* (1954; monograph supplement to *Journal of the American Oriental Society*); S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (Anchor Book, 1959); J. A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951; now a Phoenix paperback); G. Steindorff and K. C. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, rev. ed. (Chicago, 1957); C. H. Gordon, *The World of the Old Testament* (Garden City, N.Y., 1958); the "General Articles" in Vol. I (pp. 3–46) of *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York and Nashville, 1952)—all these have much to offer the student of ancient Israel.

The historical geography of Palestine has been very well treated by G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson in *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1956); the text of this book constitutes also a fine sketch of Biblical Israel's history. The same may be said of N. Glueck, *The River Jordan, being an Illustrated Account of Earth's Most Storied River* (Philadelphia, 1946). Other recent works of note in this area are L. H. Grollengberg's *Atlas of the Bible* (New York, 1956); E. G. Kraeling's *Bible Atlas* (Chicago, 1956); Denis Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* (New York, 1957).

In the category of Biblical archaeology there are a number of good works, e.g., J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past*, rev. ed. (Princeton, 1959); G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia, 1957); W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Pelican Book, 1949); A. Parrot, *Discovering Buried Worlds* and *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, nos. 1–8 (New York, 1955—); J. B. Pritchard, *Archaeology and the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1958).

There are now available two fine works on Israel's career:

M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (New York, 1958); and J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia, 1959). A well-ordered and stimulating attempt to reconstruct the origin and development of Israel, her Law, her concept of God, her priesthood, and her prophets, may be found in T. J. Meek's *Hebrew Origins*, rev. ed. (New York, 1950; Torch Books, 1959). F. James's *Personalities of the Old Testament* (New York, 1945) is the best of its kind. There is nothing quite like *Views of the Biblical World* (in natural-color photography), ed. B. Mazar, M. Avi-Yonah, A. Malamat, *et. al.*, Vol. I: *The Law* (Jerusalem, 1958), following the chapter-and-verse order of the Bible; in Volumes II–V it is planned to cover the New Testament as well as the Old.

Index

Place names have been localized on at least one of the five maps; thus Jerusalem (II B 4-5) indicates that Jerusalem may be identified on Map II at B longitudinally and 4-5 latitudinally.

Aaron, 29, 31, 32, 123
Abiathar, 64
Abigail, 67
Abner, 65
Abraham (Abram), 3, 5, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24, 26
Absalom, 67
Acco (II B 2, III B 3, V B 3), 38, 41
  Plain of, 38
Achish, 56
Adam, 5, 19
Administration:
  Davidic, 64-66
  Judean exiles, 104
  Kingdom of Judah, 89
  postexilic Judea, 111, 120-121
  Solomonic, 72-73
Adonai (Lord), 33n
Adonijah, 68
Adoniram, 75
Adullam (II B 5), 56
Aegean peoples, 53, 62
Aegean Sea, 147
Africa, 8, 26, 41, 63
Agriculture, 10ff., 26, 41, 46, 87, 91
Ahab, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 90, 108, 134
Ahasuerus, 114
Ahaz, 91
Ahaziah (son of Ahab), 89
Ahaziah (son of Joram), 90
Ahijah, 124
Ai (II C 4), 42, 44n
Aijalon (II C 4), 42
Akhenaton, 35
Akkad(ians) (I D 2), 10, 12, 13, 45, 146
Alexander the Great, 149
Alphabet, 45, 63
Amalek(ites) (II B 6-7), 61, 129
Amariah, 89
Amaziah, 90
Amenhotep II, 30
Amenhotep IV, 35
Ammon(ites) (II C-D 4-5, III C-D 4, IV C-D 4, V C 4), 15, 39, 41, 49, 55, 61, 74, 89, 98, 107, 118, 120, 147
Amon (god), 62
Amorites, 14, 17, 146
Amos, 2, 4, 84-86, 108, 126, 133, 134, 140, 142, 147
Anath, 47
Anatolia (I A-B 1), 8; *see also* Asia Minor *and* Hittites
Animism, 13
Anti-Lebanon Mts. (II D 1), 36, 39
Apiru, *see* Habiru
Apocalypse, 5
Apocrypha, 3

Aqabah, Gulf of (I B 2-3, III A 6, IV A-B 6, V A 6), 31, 39, 41, 61, 70
Arabah (II C 6), 39, 84
Arabia(ns) (I C 2-3), 31, 89, 90, 91, 118
Arabian Desert (I B-C 2-3, II E, III E, IV E, V E), 61, 145
Aram(eans) (II D-E 1-2, IV C-D), 61, 62, 71, 72, 79ff., 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 108, 135, 141, 147, 148
Aramaic language, 112, 113
Archaeology, 5, 6, 13, 16, 21, 32, 43, 44, 70, 72-73, 84, 97, 100, 103
Ark, 32; *see also* Noah's Ark
Army, 60, 61n, 64-65, 67, 77, 79, 81, 94, 124
Arnon River (II C-D 5, III B-C 4, IV C 4-5, V C 4-5), 39
Artaxerxes, 116, 118
Artisans, *see* Craftsmen
Arvad (III B 1, IV B 1, V C 1)
Asa, 88
Ashdod (II B 4, III B 4, IV B 4-5, V A 4), 120
Asher, 74
Asherah, 48-49, 74, 125
Ashtaroth (II D-2, III C 3, V C 3), 41
Ashtoreth (IV B-C 3), 48, 74
Ashurnasirpal II, 80
Asia, 8ff., 14, 18
Asia Minor (I A-B 1), 53, 62, 107; *see also* Anatolia *and* Hittites
Assembly, 51, 54
Assimilation, 50ff., 74, 103-104, 110, 112, 113, 117, 119-120; *see also* Covenant *and* Intermarriage
Assyria(ns) (I D 1), 12, 62, 68, 72, 77, 79-81, 83, 84, 85ff., 91, 93, 95, 101, 107, 135, 141, 146, 147, 148
Astronomy, 13
Athaliah, 88, 90
Aton(ism), 35
Atrakhasis Epic, 21
Authorized Version, 33n; *see also* King James Version
Avaris (I A-B 2), 27
Azariah (prophet), 88
Azekah (I B 2, II B 5), 55

Baal, 46, 47, 48, 49, 74, 125; *see also* Ishbosheth (Esh-baal) *and* Jacob-baal
Baasha, 88
Babylonia(ns) (I D-E 1-2), 12, 14, 18, 19, 21, 52, 62, 68, 77, 81, 87, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 103, 106-109, 135, 141, 148; *see also* Exile, Babylonian
Bagoas, 121
Balaam, Oracles of, 73
Bashan (II C-D 2), 39, 41
Bath-sheba, 67, 68, 83
Bayit (house), 69
Beersheba (II B 5, III B 5, IV B 5, V B 5), 16, 36, 41, 77, 87
Ben-hadad, 84, 88
Beni Hasan (I A 2-3), 18
Benjamin, tribe of, 54, 88
Bethel (II C 4, III B 4, V B 4), 16, 43, 44n, 45, 84, 125, 126, 134
Bethlehem (II C 4-5), 55
Beth-sham (II C 3), 41, 43
Beth-shemesh (II B 5), 43, 66, 75, 100
Bible, 1, 2-5, 6, 7, 18-21, 34
  ethical teachings of, 1, 52, 122ff.
  as history, 5-7
  King James Version, 2, 33n
  as literature, 2
Biblia, 1
Boaz, 69
Bondage, 25ff., 28, 35, 47, 106
Bronze Age, Early, 10, 146
Burning Bush, 33
Byblos (I B-C 1-2, III B 2, IV B 2, V B 2), 41, 63

Cambyses II, 111
Canaan(ites) (I B-C 1-2, II), 3, 5, 15, 16, 36ff., 42ff., 47-49, 52-53, 63, 87, 146; *see also* Israel, land of *and* Phoenicia
Canticles, 74; *see also* Song of Songs
Captivity, *see* Exile
Carchemish (I B-C 1), 96

Carmel, Mt. and Range (II B 2), 38, 125, 145
Carthage, 63
Caspian Sea (I E-F 1), 8
Caucasus Mts., 107
Census, 65; *see also* Population
Chalcolithic Age, 145; *see also* Copper-Stone Age
Chaldeans, 97, 100, 101ff., 148
Champion (God), 22
Chemosh, 74
Cherethites, 61
Children of Israel, 15; *see also* Israel(ites)
Chinnereth, *see* Galilee, Sea of
Chosen People, *see* Covenant
Christianity, 1, 2, 122, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 144
Chronicles, Book of, 5, 73
Chronology, early means of determining, 13
Cilicia (I A-B 1), 71
City-states, 11, 16, 53, 62
Commerce, 41, 53, 63, 70, 71-72, 87, 89, 91
Copper (mines), 10, 32, 41, 70, 145
Copper-Stone (Chalcolithic) Age, 10
Corvée (forced labor), 30, 51, 65, 66, 69, 72, 75; *see also* Taxes
Cosmogony, 18-21
Covenant, 7, 21ff., 22-24, 33-35, 47, 49, 52, 54, 85, 95, 99, 104, 105, 107, 127ff., 138, 140, 143, 144
  Book of, 52, 94-95
Crafts(men), 14, 17, 51, 63, 69, 82, 87, 97, 100, 101, 124
Creation, 3, 5, 18, 19
Crete, 8, 53, 60
Cro-Magnon man, 145
Cuneiform (writing), 10, 12
Cyrus II (the Great), 107, 109-110, 137, 148
  Edict of Liberation of, 109-110

Damascus (I B-C 1-2, II D-E 1, III C 2-3, IV C 2-3, V C 2-3), 41, 61
Dan (II D 1, III C 3, IV B 3), 36, 74, 77, 87
Daniel, Book of, 4
Darius I, 111
Darius II, 113
David, 5, 32, 48-49, 55, 56, 58ff., 65-69, 80, 88, 89, 105, 134, 137, 147, 148
  City of, 64; *see also* Jerusalem
Dead Sea (I B-C 1-2, II C 5, III B 4-5, IV B-C 4-5, V B-C 4), 16, 39, 42
Debir (II B 5), 42; *see also* Tell Beit Mirsim
Debir (Holy of Holies), 69
Deborah, 50, 85
  Song of, 48, 73
Dedan, 118
Deification, 25; *see also* Gods
Delta (I A 2), 8, 27; *see also* Nile
Deluge, 5, 18-20
Democracy, 2
Deuteronomy, Book of, 3, 95
Devotional literature, 4
Diaspora (Roman), 100
Divination, 10-11, 12, 123-125; *see also* Magic
Dor (II B 2-3, III B 3, IV B 3, V B 3), 41
Dothan (II B 2-3), 16
Drainage system, 45
Drought, 13, 25-26, 47, 82, 110
Dynasties, 10-11

Ea, 19
Ecclesiastes, 4, 74
Edict of Liberation, 148; *see also* Cyrus II
Edom(ites) (I B 2, II C 7, III B-C 5-6, IV B-C 5-6), 15, 26, 39, 41, 61, 70, 74, 79-80, 89, 90, 101, 140, 147
Eglon (II B 5), 42, 43
Egypt(ians) (I A 2-3), 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 25ff., 35, 62, 68, 71, 72, 77, 79-80, 86, 88, 96, 97, 98, 107, 112ff., 124, 127, 129, 135, 141, 146, 149
Ehud, 50
Eisodus, 25ff.

Elam(ites) (I E-F 1-2), 14, 87
Elath, *see* Ezion-geber
Elders, 11, 51, 54, 89
Elephantine (Yeb) (I A-B 3), 112
Elephantine Papyri, 112-113
Eli, 50
Eliakim, *see* Jehoiakim
Eliashib, 121
Eliezer (prophet), 89
Elijah, 82-83, 84, 85, 108, 125, 134, 139, 147
Elisha, 85, 124, 125, 147
Elizah, 124
Enlil, 21
Enûma Elish, 18
Ephraim, tribe of, 34
Esdraelon, *see* Jezreel, Valley of
Esh-baal, 60; *see also* Ishbosheth
Esther, 114, 116
Ethics, *see* Bible: Ethical teachings of *and* Prophets
Ethiopia(ns) (I A 3), 88
Euphrates River (I C-D 1-2), 8, 14, 80, 123
Evil-merodach, 102
Exile:
  Babylonian, 3, 4, 5, 6, 74, 98, 99ff., 106ff., 137, 148
  northern Israel, 86-87
Exodus, 3, 25ff., 29ff., 33-34, 47, 127, 146
Ezekiel (and Book of), 4, 104-106, 134, 139, 148
Ezion-geber (III B 6, IV B 6, V B 6), 41, 61, 70-71, 72, 89, 91
Ezra (and Book of), 5, 116-118, 120, 149

Fall of man, 18
False Prophets, 126
Famine, *see* Drought
Fertile Crescent, 6, 8, 13ff., 145
Five Books of Moses, *see* Pentateuch
Flood, 5, 18-20
Forced labor, see *Corvée*
Foretelling, 122, 132ff.
Former Prophets, 4
Fortifications, Canaanite and Israelite, 45, 51, 66, 70, 80, 91

Gad (seer), 123, 124
Gad, tribe of, 42, 48
Galilee (II C 2), 38
  Sea of (I B-C 1-2, II C 2), 39
Garden of Eden, 18
Gath (II B 5, IV B 5), 56, 61, 92
Gaza (II A 5, III B 4-5, IV A 5, V A 5), 41, 42
Gedaliah, 98, 100, 112
Genesis, Book of, 3, 5, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 28
Gerizim, Mt. (II C 3), 121
Geshem, 118
Gezer (II B 4), 70
Gibeah (II B-C 4) 43, 45
Gibeon (II C 4), 42, 43
Gideon, 49, 50
Gilboa, Mt. (II C 3), 56, 60
Gilead (II C 3-4, V C 3-4), 39, 41
Gilgal (II C 4-5), 42
Gilgamesh Epic, 19, 20
Glueck, N., 70n, 71n
God, 4, 7, 15ff., 25ff., 36ff., 64, 85, 95, 99, 108, 123ff., 142, 143, 144
Gods, 12, 25, 46, 48, 85, 99, 105, 108, 124
Golden Calf, 31
Goliath, 55, 61n
Gomorrah (I B 2), 16
Goshen (I A-B 2), 27
Greece, 8, 45, 63, 101, 107, 123; *see also* Hellenism
Guilds, 51, 64, 94, 123-124, 126

Habiru, 13ff., 27, 30, 146, 147
Hadad (of Edom), 79
Hadassah, *see* Esther
Haggai, 106, 110, 111, 149
Hagiographia, 4
Haifa (II B 2), 38, 63
Haman, 114
Hamath (I B-C 1, III C-D 1, IV D 1, V D 1), 81, 84
Hammurabi, 11, 14, 62, 146
Hammurapi, *see* Hammurabi
Hanani, 88, 125
Hanging Gardens (of Babylon), 101
Hapiru, *see* Habiru
Haran (I C 1, V C-D 3), 22

Hazael, 83, 84
Hazor (II C 2), 43, 70
Hebrew language, 45, 120
Hebrew literature, 73-74
Hebrew mind, 23-24
Hebrews, 3, 13ff., 25 ff., 146; *see also* Habiru *and* Israelites
Hebron (II B-C 5, III B 4, IV B-C 5), 16, 42, 64
Heidel, A., 20n
Hekhal (holy place), 69
Hellenism, 3, 121, 143, 149
Hermon, Mt. (II D 1), 36, 39
Herod, 144
Heshbon (II D 4, III C 4, IV C 4), 41
Hezekiah, 91, 93, 94
High Priest, *see* Priest
Hilkiah, 95
Hill Country, 16, 38, 41, 42
Hillel, 144
Hills, 36, 38-39, 40ff., 51-52, 77, 140-141
Hiram, I, 63, 72
Historians, biblical, 4, 5-7
Hittites (I A-B 1), 16, 62, 71, 74, 146
Holy Land, 36, 104; *see also* Israel, land of
Hophni, 29
Horites (I C-D 1), *see* Hurrians
Hosea, 4, 84-86, 92, 148
Huleh, Lake (II C 2), 39
Hurrians (Horites) (I D 1), 14, 16, 52, 62, 146
Husbandry, animal, 10
Hyksos, 25-28, 30, 146

Iddo, 124
Idolatry, Canaanite and Israelite, 48, 74, 85, 88, 93, 94, 105, 110
Iliad, 64
Immanuel, 135
Indian Ocean, 107
Indus River, 8, 107
Intermarriage, 48ff., 74, 110, 112, 113, 117, 120; *see also* Assimilation *and* Covenant
Ionia, 107
Iraq, 14, 62
Iron (mines), 41, 53, 57
Iron Age, Early, 146
Isaac, 5, 22, 23, 26
Isaiah, 2, 4, 58, 91, 92, 93, 107, 141, 143, 148; *see also* Second Isaiah
Ishbosheth, 60, 61n, 65
Ishmael, 89, 98
Ishtar Gate, 101, 102
Islam, 1, 2, 122
Israel(ites) (IV B-C 3-4), 1, 3, 4, 5, 15, 21, 23-24, 147, 148
  empire of, 58ff.
  kingdom of, 3, 75-76, 77ff., 98, 137
  law, spirit and letter of, 127ff., 144
  legal codes, 52-53
  population, 65, 77, 111-112, 140-141
  use of term, 36
Israel, land of:
  climate, 26, 39-40
  economy, 40-42, 51-52, 77
  geography, 36, 38-39, 40ff., 77, 140-141
  tribal structure, 50-51
Israel, modern state of, 7, 119, 121
Ittobaal, 80

Jabbok River (II C-D 3, III C 4, IV B-C 4, V C-D 4), 39
Jabesh-gilead (II C 3), 55
Jachin, 69
Jacob, 5, 18, 22, 26, 27, 47, 143
Jacob-baal, 27
Jacob-el, 27
Jacob-har, 27
Jashar, Book of, 42
Jebus(ites), 61
Jeconiah, *see* Jehoiachin
Jedidiah, *see* Solomon
Jehoahaz II (Shallum), 96
Jehoash, *see* Joash
Jehoiachin (Jeconiah), 97, 102, 103, 109, 111, 135
Jehoiakim (Eliakim), 96, 97, 134, 135
Jehoram, *see* Joram
Jehoshaphat, 88, 89, 125, 147
  judicial reforms of, 89-90

Jehovah, 33n
Jehu (king), 83-84
Jehu (seer), 88, 125, 147
Jephthah, 50
Jeremiah, 2, 4, 94, 95, 97, 100, 103, 105, 129, 133, 134, 135, 139, 142, 148
Jericho (II C 4), 5, 10, 40, 42, 44n, 125
Jeroboam I, 75-76, 79
Jeroboam II, 84, 85
Jerusalem (I B-C 2, II B 4-5, III B 4, IV B-C 4, V B 4), 27, 40, 56, 61, 64, 65, 66, 69, 71, 73, 80, 87, 93, 94, 97, 100, 104, 106, 110, 112, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124, 141, 142, 143, 149
Jesse, 55, 58
Jesus, 136, 139
Jewish Publication Society translation of Bible, 33n
Jews, 2-3, 5
Jezebel, 80, 83, 84, 90, 134
Jezreel, 16, 56, 83
Jezreel, Valley of (II B 3), 38, 41, 48, 96
Joab, 65, 67, 68
Joash, 90
Job, 2, 4, 24
Joel, 141n
Jonathan, 55-56, 60, 66, 67
Jonathan (high priest), 121
Joppa (II B 4, III A 4, IV A-B 4, V B 4), 38, 41, 69
Joram (son of Jehoshaphat), 88, 90
Jordan River (I B-C 1-2, II C, III C, IV B-C 3-4), 16, 36, 38, 39, 42, 70n, 147
Jordan Valley (II C, V B-C 4), 39, 40, 41, 146
Jose, Rabbi, 117
Joseph, 18, 47
Josephus, 27
Joshua (high priest), 111-112
Joshua (priest), 111
Josiah, 94-96, 97, 148
  reformation of, 94-96, 133
Jotham (son of Uzziah), 90, 91
Judah (IV B 5, V B 4), 3, 5, 38, 41, 60, 73, 75, 77ff., 87-89, 96-98, 99ff., 117, 120, 147, 148, 149
Judaism, 99-100, 122
Judea, *see* Judah
Judges, 48-51, 89-90, 92
  Book of, 4, 43, 73
  period of, 36ff., 64, 73, 147
Judicial reforms, *see* Jehoshaphat
Justice, 1, 127ff., 143

Kadesh (I B 2, III C 2, IV C 1-2), 61, 98
Karkar (near Hamath—I C 1), 81-82
King James Version, 2, 33n
Kings, 11, 12, 54
  Book of, 4, 73, 75, 82
Kinsman (God), 22
Kir-hareseth (II C 6, III B-C 5, IV C 5), 41
Kiriat-sepher (II B 5), 43, 100; *see also* Debir *and* Tell Beit Mirsim
Kishon River (II B-C 2)
Korah, 31

Laban, 22
Labor, see *Corvée*
Lachish (II B 5, IV B 5), 42, 43, 70, 100
Landowner, 12, 46, 82, 104, 120-121
Late Bronze Age, 45, 146
Late Stone Age, 8, 145
Latin, 2; *see also* Rome
Latter Prophets, *see* Prophets
Law (*Torah*), 3, 34, 47, 52-53, 95, 98, 116-117, 128-129, 130, 134, 138, 144
  Mesopotamian Codes, 11
Law, Israelite, spirit and letter of, 127ff., 144
Lebanon, Mt. and Range (II C 1), 39, 63, 69
Levi(tes), 27, 29, 31, 43, 65, 89-90, 93, 104, 120
Leviticus, Book of, 3
Libnah (II B 5), 42

Lord (*Adonai*), 33n
Lot, 15
Lydia, 107

Maccabean War, 2, 5
Magic, 123, 127; *see also* Divination
Major Prophets, 4
Malachi, 106, 140
Mamre, 16
Manasseh (king), 91, 94, 128
Manasseh (Samaritan), 121
Manasseh, tribe of, 42, 48, 74
Manetho, 27
Marduk, temple of, 101
Mareshah (II B 5), 88
Mari (I C-D 1-2), 14, 124, 146
Matriarch, 23
Mattaniah, 97; *see also* Zedekiah
Media (I E 2), 81, 95, 107
Mediterranean, Sea and Coast (I-V A-B), 8, 14, 16, 36, 38, 40, 61, 63, 66, 107; *see also* Sharon, Plain of, *and* Philistia
Megiddo (II B 3, III B 3, IV B 3), 41, 43, 65, 66, 70, 82, 84, 96
Menahem, 86
Mephibosheth, 60
Merari, 29
Mercenaries, 60; *see also* Army
Merchants, 12, 16, 70, 71, 82, 114, 120; *see also* Commerce
Merneptah, 146
Merodach-baladan, 91
Merom, Waters of (II C 2), 42
Mesolithic, *see* Middle Stone Age
Mesopotamia (I C-D 1), 8, 10, 13, 14, 18, 22, 46, 62, 91, 94, 96, 107, 146; *see also* Akkad, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, *and* Sumer
Messiah, 137-138
Metals, 10ff.
Methuselah, 19
Micah, 4, 91ff., 129, 141, 143, 148
Micaiah, 134
Michal, 55
Michmash (II C 4), 55
Middle Bronze Age, 45, 146
Middle Stone Age, 145
Midian(ites), 49
Migrations, 26
Milcom, 74
Minor Prophets, 4
Miracles, 123-126
Miriam, 29, 32
Mitanni Kingdom (I C-D 1), 14, 146
"Mixed Multitude," 30, 31
Mizpah (II C 4), 98
Moab(ites) (II C 5-6, III C 5, V C 5), 15, 39, 41, 49, 55, 61, 74, 82, 89, 101, 117, 120, 141, 147
Mohammed, *see* Islam
Molech, 74
Moneylenders, 46, 82, 119
Monotheism, 21, 22, 23, 35
Moral codes, 1, 20-21
Mordecai, 114
Moresheth (near Gath), 92
Moses, 3, 5, 25, 29ff., 33ff., 47, 48, 73, 100, 104, 125, 127, 146
  blessing of, 73
  Song of Triumph of, 73
Moslem, *see* Islam
Mot, 47
Mozambique, 39
Music(ians), 14, 17, 66, 124; *see also* Craftsmen
Mythology, 11, 12, 21, 46

Nabi (prophet, spokesman), 122, 123
Naboth, 82-83
Nahor, 22
Nahum, 95
Naphtali, 74
Nathan, 67, 68, 83, 84, 85, 124, 134
Nationalism, 139-144; *see also* Prophets
Natufian, *see* Middle Stone Age
Navy, 70
Neanderthal, 145
Near East, 6, 8, 15, 24, 72
Nebuchadnezzar, 4, 97, 107, 109, 112, 148
Necho, 62, 96

Negeb (I B 2, II B 5-6), 16, 38, 41, 91
Nehemiah (and Book of), 5, 116ff., 149
Neolithic age, *see* Late Stone Age
New Testament, 3, 5
Nile Delta, 8
Nile River (I A-B 2-3), 18, 26, 112, 124
Nimush, Mt., *see* Nisir, Mt.
Nineveh (I D 1), 93, 95
Nisir, Mt., 20
Noah, 19, 20
Noah's Ark, 5, 18, 20
Nob, 56, 64
Nomads, 16, 17, 18, 23, 26
Numbers, Book of, 3, 38

Odyssey, 64
Old Testament, 3, 5; *see also* Bible
Omri, 80ff., 86, 147
Oppenheim, Leo, 93n
Orontes River, 61
Ostraca, 100

Pakistan, 8
Palaeanthropus palestinensis, 145
Palestine, 8, 14, 16, 17, 25, 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 145, 146
  origin of name, 53
Paradise, 18
Particularism, *see* Nationalism
Passover, 93, 117
Patriarchs, 5, 15ff., 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 127, 146
Peace on Earth, 141-142
Pekah, 135
Pelethites, 61
Pentateuch, 3, 34, 52, 64, 70, 117, 123
Persia(ns), 87, 107, 109, 111, 113, 116, 118, 121, 148
Persian Gulf (I E-F 2-3), 8, 31
Pharaoh, *see* Egypt
Pharisees, 121, 144
Philistia (II B 5, III B 4-5, IV B 4-5), 38, 41, 61, 80
Philistines, 53ff., 56-57, 60, 61, 66, 89, 90, 91, 92, 147
Phineas, 29
Phoenicia(ns) (II B-C 1-2, III C 1-3, IV B-C), 38, 41, 45, 61, 69, 71ff., 77, 80-81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 90, 147
Pictograph, 10
Pithom (I A 2), 28, 30
Pogrom (Elephantine), 113-114
Polytheism, 21, 46
Population (Near East), 10-12; *see also* Israel, population
Pottery, 145
Prayer, 106, 128
Prediction, 122, 132ff.
Priest(hood), 12, 13, 46 (Canaanite), 48, 50, 54, 62 (Amon), 64 (David), 65, 85, 89, 92, 93, 94 (Josiah), 104, 111, 114 (Elephantine), 120, 121, 124 (Mari), 126, 133, 140
Pritchard, J. B., 17n, 93n
Promised Land, 32; *see also* Israel, land of
Prophetes (declarer, interpreter), 123
Prophets, 1, 3, 50, 58, 85, 92, 95, 100, 104, 106, 107, 122ff., 133ff., 147
  Former, Major, Minor, 4
Prostitution, 88
Protestant Church, 3
Proverbs, Book of, 4, 74
Psalms, Book of, 2, 4, 66
Purim, 116
Puti-el, 29
Pyramid tombs, 11

Rabbath-ammon (II D 4, III C 4, IV C 4, V C 4), 41
Ramah (II C 4), 124
Ramoth-gilead (II D 3, III C 3-4, IV B-C 3-4, V C 3-4), 41, 88, 125
Ramses (I A 2), 28, 30
Ramses II, 30
Rebekkah, 23
Red Sea (I B 3), 8, 31, 39
Reformation, *see* Josiah
Rehoboam, 75-76, 79ff.

Religion, 11, 12, 13, 46 (Canaanite), 73-74 (Solomon), 88 (Asa), 93, 94-96 (Josiah); *see also* Prophets
Repent, 130
Reuben, tribe of, 31, 42, 48
Revised Standard Version, 33n
Revised Version, 33n
Rezin, 135
Rhapsody (prophetic), 125-127
Riblah (IV C 1-2, V C-D 2), 98
Roman Catholic Church, 3
Rome, 45, 53, 63, 100, 137, 139, 140, 143
Ruth (and Book of), 2, 117

Sabbath, 105, 120
Sacrifice, 92, 106, 113, 128-129, 135, 138
Salt Sea, *see* Dead Sea
Salvation, 129-130
Samaria (capital—II B 3-4, IV B 4, V B 4), 82, 84, 86, 92
Samaria (region—IV B 4, V B 4), 38, 41, 118, 120
Samaritans, 87, 110, 120, 121
Samson, 50
Samuel, 4, 50, 54, 73, 85, 123, 124, 125, 129
Sanballat, 118, 120
Sanctuaries, *see* Shrines
Sarah, 23
Sargon I, 13, 146
Sargon II, 86-87
Saul, 49, 54ff., 60, 61, 65, 66, 124, 129, 137, 147
Science, 11
Scythians, 95
Second Isaiah, 104, 106ff., 134, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 148
Seele, K. C., 29n
Seer, 54, 88, 123-125, 133
Semites, 13, 14, 16, 18, 26, 27, 30, 145, 146
Sennacherib, 93
Septuagint, 123
Servant, *see* Slavery
Servant of the Lord, 139
Shallum, *see* Jehoahaz II
Shalmeneser III, 83
Shalmeneser V, 86
Shamgar, 50
Sharon, Plain of (II B 3), 38, 41, 43
Sheba, Queen of, 58, 71, 118
Shechem (II C 3-4, III B 3-4), 16, 41
Shefelah (II B 5), 38, 55, 66, 92
Sheshbazzar, 109, 110
Sheshonk I, *see* Shishak
Shiloh (II C 4), 32, 43, 124
Shishak, 62, 72, 79-80, 147
Shrines, 10, 46, 48, 50, 74, 76, 94, 121, 124, 126, 134; *see also* Temples
Shushan (Susa), 119
Sicily, 63
Siddim, Vale of, 16
Sidon (capital—I B-C 1-2, II C 1, III B 2, IV B 2, V B 2), 41, 141
Sinai, Wilderness of (I B 2-3), 3, 31ff., 52, 70, 146
Sinuhe, The Story of, 17
Slavery, 11, 15, 29, 30, 82, 119-120, 131
Smiths, *see* Crafts(men)
Sodom (I B-C 2), 16, 24
Sojourn (Egypt), 28ff.
Solomon, 3, 5, 32, 41, 51, 58ff., 68, 69ff., 79, 80, 89, 118, 147
Song of Songs, 2, 4; *see also* Canticles
Soothsayers, 123-126; *see also* Divination
Spain, 63
Steindorff, G., 29n
Stone Age, 8, 10, 145
Succoth (II C-D 4), 117
Suffering Servant, 139
Sumer(ians) (I D-E 1-2), 10, 12, 13, 14, 19, 45, 77, 146
Susa (I E 1-2), 114
Syria(ns), 8, 14, 16, 17, 26, 30, 38, 61, 62, 80, 83, 145; *see also* Aram
Syria, Hellenistic, 2, 5

Taanach (II B 3), 48
Tabernacle, 32, 34

Tabernacles (Feast), 117
Talmud, Babylonian, 144
Tanis (I A 2), 27
Tattenai, 111
Taxes, 65, 66, 69, 72-73, 75-76; *see also Corvée*
Tekoa (II C 5), 84
Tel Aviv (II B 4), 38
Tell Beit Mirsim (II B 5), 43, 66, 100; *see also* Debir
Tell Qasileh (II B 4), 66, 70, 75
Teman (II C-D 7, III B 5-6, IV B 6)
Temple of Solomon, 3, 32, 64, 65, 69 (and architecture of), 71, 72, 74, 76, 80, 87, 93, 94, 97, 100, 104, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 116, 120, 121, 149
Temples, 46, 111 (Second), 113 (Elephantine)
Ten Commandments, 32, 52
Tent of Meeting, 32, 34
Tetragrammaton, 33n
Tiglath-pileser I, 62
Tiglath-pileser III, 86, 91
Tigris River (I C-D 1-2), 8, 14
Tin, 10
Tirzah (II C 3), 81
Tobiah (Ammonite), 118, 120
Torah, 3, 117, 121, 128, 142; *see also* Law
Tower of Babel, 18
Transjordan (II D), 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 55, 61, 62, 82, 88, 89, 91, 98, 100
Tribes, 64, 65, 87, 89
Tribes, Lost Ten, 87
Tribute, 86, 87, 89, 91, 119
Tsédek (righteousness), 129
Tyre (I B-C 1-2, II C 1, III B 2-3, IV B 3, V B 3), 41, 120, 141; *see also* Phoenicia

Ulam (vestibule), 69
United Kingdom, 75-76, 89, 147
Universalism, 139-144
Uriah, 83, 134
Uriah (prophet), 134, 139
Utnapishtim, 19
Uzziah (Azariah), 90, 91

Valley of Dry Bones, 105

Wadi Mojib, *see* Arnon River
Wadi Zerqa, *see* Jabbok River
Wandering, *see* Wilderness of Sinai
Water supply, 26, 39-40, 42
Wells, 51
Wilderness of Sinai (I B 2-3), 3, 31-34, 52, 70, 146
Wilson, J. A., 17n, 29n
Wisdom literature, 4
Wright, G. E., 44n
Writing, 45, 63, 73, 146
Writings, 4

Xerxes, 114

Yadin, Y., 61n
Yahweh, 33n
Yarmuk River (II C-D 2, III C 3, IV B-C 3, V C 3), 39
YHWH, 33n

Zadok(ites), 64, 68
Zebadiah, 89
Zebulun, 74
Zechariah, 106, 110, 111, 134, 149
Zedekiah, 97, 98, 135, 137
Zerah, 88
Zered River (II C-D 6, III B-C 5, IV B-C 5-6, V C 5), 39
Zerubbabel, 111, 137, 148
Ziggurat, 10
Zion, 141, 142, 143; *see also* Jerusalem
Zobah (III C-D 2), 61

$1.75